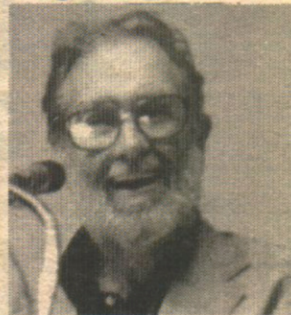


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THE INSIDE STORY

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'The business of America is...'

With over 80 percent of non-Southern business executives and bankers registered Republicans, it is hardly surprising that business gives Democratic presidents a hard time.

Even John F. Kennedy, now being touted by conservative Republicans as business's best friend since the war, was seen as an enemy by business. A July 1962 poll of 6,000 executives found 52 percent believing the Kennedy administration was "strongly anti-business" and 36 percent believing it was "moderately anti-business."

Most businesspeople take a narrow interest-group approach to politics: what is good for my business is good for America. They fight the efforts of Democrats, and corporate liberal Republicans, to frame programs that also accommodate the interests of labor and minorities.

What has been surprising about the Carter administration is its reaction to business displeasure. No Democrat since Grover Cleveland has been so eager to please, and so ready to serve.

"It's anti-capitalistic."

In his early campaign for president, before he won the Democratic nomination, Carter got surprising support from business. *Newsweek* found business leaders greeting his candidacy with "remarkable equanimity and even some outright support in key places."

While Carter retained his key supporters, such as ARCO's Thornton Bradshaw, Dupont's Irving Shapiro, G.E.'s Reginald Jones, and Wall Street's Robert V. Roosa, Gerald Ford got the majority on the strength of his anti-inflation rhetoric and Carter's pseudo-populism.

Carter's 1978 budget and mild stimulus received mixed reviews from business, especially after he dropped the \$50 tax rebate. But by summer Carter's relation to business was the normal Democratic one.

In an effort to appease his labor and minority constituencies, Carter compromised on the minimum wage bill. He presented a social security reform that raised employers' share of the taxes. He backed the cargo preference and consumer agency bills. He hinted that he would treat capital gains as taxable income in his tax reform bill. And angered by the defeat of natural gas deregulation and the crude oil tax in the Senate, he accused the oil companies of perpetrating the "biggest ripoff in history."

Any of these acts in themselves would have darkened business's brow. But they came at the same time that

all the major business forecasters, from the Wharton School of Finance to the OECD, were reporting danger ahead for the world capitalist economy. According to the reports, capital spending, the key to any recovery, remained perilously low.

By mid-October, after Carter's attack against the oil companies, even his friends in the business community had grown critical. "Last summer I felt very definitely positive about Mr. Carter," a Pittsburgh executive told the *Wall Street Journal*, "but his tax-stance is anti-business. It's anti-capitalistic."

Testifying before the Senate, Robert V. Roosa digressed from a discussion of Federal Reserve practices to term Carter's oil company attack "abusive" and to warn that Carter was creating "an air of distrust and contention between business and government."

The *New York Times* New Year's survey of business attitudes found 35 percent of the executives surveyed rating Carter "very ineffective" as a president, 52 percent "fairly ineffective," less than 1 percent "fairly effective," and none "very effective."

Not to take this pressure lightly, Carter began in late October to capitulate to business pressure. Capitulation took the form of a sudden case of political impotence when faced with the House or Senate defeat of bills he had backed but that business opposed.

The bill for a consumer protection agency was allowed to die in the House. The cargo preference bill, which had been passed and then vetoed under Ford, was allowed to lose in the House. House and Senate conference committees were permitted to strip away from the Social Security and energy bills any provisions that favored workers or consumers.

And then Carter let it be known that he was rethinking his "anti-capitalistic" tax reform.

Redistributing the wealth.

The climax came last month with Carter's budget message and economic program, which in the obeisance it paid to the private sector recalled the homilies of Calvin Coolidge.

Well before his budget was announced Carter had already foresworn the path to recovery favored by labor, minorities, and other left Democrats: enlarged public spending on health, housing, and the environment as a means of creating jobs and consumer demand.

In the Carter proposals, provisions for an urban program, including aid to New York City, were notably absent, supposedly still being drawn up by warring departments under Carter's supervision. (Carter's most recent memo was supposed to have stressed that cities with high unemployment should not be favored for aid over affluent cities.)

National health insurance would also be delayed. A proposal would be made next August, in time to buoy Carter's '78 image but not soon enough to risk passage by an electioneering Congress.

Federal jobs spending is to remain where it was last year, adding about .5 percent to the employed. The only noticeable increase was in... defense, of course.

To stimulate the economy, Carter chose the path of least business resistance—a tax cut. Gone from the tax proposal are most of the hated "reforms." There is a proposal to eliminate the taxbreak on overseas corporate profits, which is intended as a sop to labor and which stands no more chance of getting through Al Ullman's House Ways and Means committee than the proposal to limit business lunch proposals. As commentators from both left and right have pointed out, these proposals are political appendages to the body of Carter's program, and will be allowed a quick and painless amputation.

But the absence of reforms is the least of it. The proposed income tax reductions will at best merely balance

the increases in Social Security and energy taxes; they will not increase consumer demand. The job of stimulation is reserved for a reduction of the corporate profit tax from 48 to 44 percent and an increase in the investment tax credit.

The effect of these proposals will be to redistribute national income to corporate profits and those whose income is most directly tied to them. They aim to stimulate "business confidence" by redistributing income away from workers to business.

Carter's other economic proposals fit this disturbing pattern:

- an anti-inflation program that seeks voluntary compliance on an industry-by-industry basis to limiting wage and price increases to less than the average of the last two years' increases. This program seems principally aimed at limiting workers' wage increases. In an interview with *Business Week*, Barry Bosworth, the head of the President's Council on Wage and Price Stability, stressed that "to get a deceleration in prices, we have to get a deceleration in wages."

- a proposal for welfare "reform" that will establish a new underclass of public employees to compete with unionized workers.

- special emphasis on the need to fund the new loan facility of the International Monetary Fund, which will permit it to serve better as world capitalism's economic policeman.

- And no emphasis on nor even mention of the need for the Federal Reserve to keep interest rates down.

An accidental Democrat.

Carter is now affirming the early perception of him as an economic conservative. In an interview with *New Times*' Robert Shrum, one Carter aide described him as an "accidental Democrat. When he started out, you had to be a Democrat in Georgia. I think he could be a moderate Republican. He's convinced the key economic goal is reassuring business."

But more than a philosophical orientation led Carter to his subservience to business pressures. With business, Carter fears that the current recovery may be stunted and that a recession could occur in 1979. Besides creating immediate political problems, such a recession would probably preclude his re-election.

To prevent a recession, Carter has only limited alternatives. He cannot simply increase public spending without risking wage and price increases that would threaten profits and perhaps precipitate an even sharper recession than the 1974 one. He could only attempt large public investments if he could also either control labor's wages or capital's investments. In order for this to happen, labor either has to be so weak that Carter and business could ram austerity down its throat (and it is not that weak), or labor has to be strong enough to ram investment controls down business's throat (and it certainly is not that strong).

Carter, it seems, would eventually like to follow the path of creating sufficient control over labor's wage to permit federal spending without wage-inflation.

But he knows that politically the time has not yet come.

Carter evidently felt he had no choice but to opt for the traditional economic strategy of attempting to "win business confidence" through redistributing the nation's wealth in its favor.

But while this strategy worked for Kennedy, it probably will not work for Carter. More than "confidence" or even presentday plums stand in the way of business investment, which is being held in check by worldwide overcapacity. It is likely that our recession in the verbal clothing of recovery will drag on.

And besides that, it is to be hoped that labor and minority organizations will not permit Carter's experiment in Democratic Republicanism to continue. ■

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Another round at Pullman

By David Moberg

EUGENE V. DEBS—WHERE ARE you when we need you?" The plaintive picket sign was near the gate of the Pullman Standard plant in south Chicago where railroad passenger cars are manufactured. It's only a few blocks from the historic company town built by George Pullman, one of that elite club fondly remembered as the "robber barons."

Debs, perhaps America's pre-eminent socialist in later years, was the leader of the American Railway Union in 1894 when Pullman railroad car workers joined the union and went on strike. The ARU responded with a boycott of all railroad lines using Pullman cars that nearly turned into a nationwide general strike.

The dramatic struggle was finally broken by troops and police that killed an estimated 30 people and by the imprisonment of Debs and other leaders.

Now Pullman workers are on strike again. On Oct. 1, 6,500 members of the Steelworkers union in five Pullman plants, in Chicago, Hammond, Ind., Butler, Pa., and Bessemer, Ala., walked out over national and local contractual issues that mainly concern control over their work and power to resist management's authority.

The thorniest issues in the strike are the company's demands that the incentive pay standards in the freight car manufacturing plants be substantially revised and that the local unions give up their right to strike over incentive issues during the course of the contract.

Solidarity among locals.

Pullman officials have refused to discuss the multitude of local issues until there is a settlement on incentives and the strike clause, neither of which affects workers at the two passenger car plants, where there is straight hourly pay, or the office and technical workers who are also on strike. Local presidents and their international union negotiator have agreed to stick together, however, until all are satisfied with both national and local contracts.

Most of the local demands involve union attempts to expand the use of seniority to govern shift preferences, job assignments and other shop practices. For example, passenger car local members now need five years seniority before they can work the shift they want. Foremen can, and often do, punish workers by changing their shift. Since the railroad car business is extremely cyclical and only recently picked up steam with renewed interest in Amtrak and urban mass transit, nearly four-fifths of the workers have under five years seniority.

The company can also lay off workers out of line of their seniority for five days or less each time, repeating the process as often as they like. In some plants, seniority applies only to a department rather than the whole factory. A worker with ten years seniority might be laid off, but another with less than a year stay on the job if he or she is in a different department. Also, seniority doesn't govern assignments to positions that open up when a worker leaves or changes jobs, and the company often brings in newly hired people to take preferred jobs. Workers want to end such practices as well as to institute a system of job posting and bidding to prevent favoritism by foremen.

Although Pullman did not offer the full wage and benefit package won in the basic steel contract last year, observers expect that the final agreement at Pullman will, as usual, follow steel's lead closely.

Government inspectors cross lines.

While strikers keep a round-the-clock picket vigil, foremen continue to cross the line and may be doing some production work. Since there was nearly one foreman for every five workers in the fac-

tories and new supervisors were created just before the strike, Pullman can still draw on a large workforce.

For most of the strike inspectors from Amtrak and the New York City transit authority also crossed the line. Since there is inspection at every step in the construction of the cars, which often sell for \$1.5 million each, no work could go on if the inspectors respected the picket line. Concerned that "government money was being used to break our strike," in the words of a strike spokesperson, the union lobbied in Congress and forced reassignment of the inspectors.

Strikers have succeeded in taking their fight into other arenas as well. When an order for 30 subway cars scheduled for the Chicago plant was shifted to a Budd Corp. factory, the UAW local there voted six to one not to do the work.

When the New York Stock Exchange honored Pullman on Dec. 2 as one of the oldest companies still listed on the Exchange by temporarily renaming Wall St. "Pullman St.," 76 workers from several Pullman plants picketed and leafleted Wall St., renaming the symbolic home of high finance "Debs Drive" at the end of the day.

Skilled work.

Even though parts of the railroad car factories involve assembly lines, little of the work is like that in auto factories. There's usually a premium placed on care and quality—especially with inspectors on guard continually—and the work is often fairly skilled. Most workers described Pullman as "not a bad place to work," except for the unstable schedules. Pay typically runs \$6.50 to \$8.00 an hour.

But nearly everyone says that conditions began to get worse about two years ago when astronaut James McDivitt was appointed president of the Pullman Standard division. Discontent with incentive rates lay behind two strikes—nine weeks at Bessemer in 1976 and a one-week wildcat followed by a two-month official strike at the Hammond freight works in the summer of 1977.

Although nominally the pay has been increasing steadily over the years, changes in incentives—which are like piece work—can undercut the union's progress. Twenty-nine-year-old Frank, a spray painter with 11 years seniority at Hammond, contrasts his 1967 pay stub for \$222 over 38 hours with his 1977 pay stub on a similar job for \$195 over 40 hours. "Your hourly rate goes up and your incentive goes down," he says, "so where does it get you?"

Market share down.

Although Pullman is the leading railroad rolling stock manufacturer and has made a comfortable profit, averaging close to 12 percent return on stockholders' equity over the past five years, its share of the railroad car market has dropped from 30 percent in 1973 to 18 percent last year. Railroad cars make up only one-sixth of the corporate revenue. With the strong chance of demand increasing in the wake of the energy crisis—spurring a market for everything from subway cars to coal hoppers—Pullman Standard apparently wants to increase workloads and eliminate the threat of strikes to maximize its profits and to increase its market share.

At present workers in freight plants can take advantage of their experience, skill and even their own tools to finish their jobs quickly, make the quota and sit around and relax or even go home. Pullman's new plan would require them to keep working the full eight hours with no increase in pay. "Who's going to hurry up and get done to go work for free?" Frank asks. "That's going to create a wildcat strike as soon as they try to bring it in."

Right to strike.

Although there have been no strikes at Pullman over the last several decades until recently, the threat of a strike was al-



'Where are you now, Eugene Debs?' the picket signs ask at Pullman Standard plants where 6,500 workers have been out since October. Their incentive pay and the right to strike are at issue.

ways important to move along grievances, union representatives said. "Without a strike clause, we'd have nothing," a local official from Hammond freight says. "We'd be out in the cold."

Nevertheless the long strike and the precedent of the basic steel locals losing their right to strike has caused a few people to waver. Sitting in their camper at the plant gate, ten-year veteran Dan Shanahan wondered if they wouldn't have to give up the strike in order to keep the jobs at the same rate. But McArthur Mitchell objected: "I talked to some guys at the steel mill and they wish they hadn't given it up."

There was grumbling on most of the picket lines that the international union wasn't keeping the local leaders or members informed. Worse, many felt like they were pawns in a game between the international and the company. "It really doesn't matter what I think," one striker said. "We don't have the right to ratify the contract."

Some workers were worrying about gas shutoffs and having difficulties paying rent and food bills. Others were tormented by rumors that there would be massive layoffs after the strike or that the factories would be closed down, despite Pullman's receiving two new orders since last October.

Even though the passenger car workers have been kept out four months on an issue that doesn't directly affect them, they seemed fairly determined to continue and many are increasingly embittered toward the company.

"We can go on another four months if we need," Chuck Ivey said, denying serious morale problems. "Pullman refuses to negotiate. They want to go back to the old days when there was no local and people in the plant were like chess pieces they could move around. In times like these with civil rights and human rights and First Amendment rights, people want to be treated like humans." ■

Jane Melnick

IN THE NATION

Akron may try to stop abortions

By Tim Butz

AKRON, OHIO

THE AKRON CITY COUNCIL IS now considering a bill that will virtually eliminate legal abortions in Akron. Promoted by members of the Right to Life movement, the bill is under attack by women's groups, the American Civil Liberties Union and progressive religious groups as unconstitutional and a violation of a woman's civil rights.

The proposed city ordinance was written by Allan Segedy and Marvin Weinberger, members of the Akron area Right To Life group, as is Ray Kapper, the city council president and promoter of the law.

Critics of the legislation fear that if the Right to Life movement is successful in Akron, they will use the tactic of local ordinances across the country. "The national Right to Lifers didn't select Akron as a special target," claims John Kutachief of the Akron Pro-Choice Coalition, "but it has definitely developed as a national issue."

The current proposal is not the first attempt to legislate abortion guidelines in Akron. In 1976 a law that would have required second trimester abortions to be performed in hospitals died without a council vote. The new proposal, however, is far stronger than the 1976 proposal.

Under the Akron ordinance the city-owned hospital would not be allowed to perform abortions even under emergency conditions, according to its proponents. Privately operated abortion clinics would be allowed to operate only if they complied with provisions that "would virtually force the clinics to close," according to Elsie Wreaven, a member of the city council.

The clinics would be required to hire additional staff to provide special counseling for the women seeking an abortion and an attending physician for both the woman and the fetus during the performance of the abortion. Such requirements would mean an almost doubling of fees, forcing women to travel 45 miles to Cleveland if they could not pay.

The counseling aspect of the law is clearly designed to coerce an anti-abortion decision, critics claim. Wreaven, who opposes the ordinance, feels that the counseling is not only intimidating, but "actually a mirror of the Right to Life political beliefs."

"This law begins with the basic concept of the Right to Life movement," says Wreaven. "The opening clause reads 'Whereas the fetus becomes a person at the moment of conception...'"

The law prescribes the exact wording for the counseling that women seeking abortion must be given. The counseling centers on describing the development of the fetus from the time of conception to the time of counseling.

Another provision designed to exert influence and perhaps legal action is a section that requires the "father" to be informed of the pending abortion. Akron was recently the site of a legal action where an unmarried father obtained a court order prohibiting a woman from proceeding with an abortion. The couple married finally, before the court order could be tested on appeal, and no abortion was performed.

The ordinance has the strong backing of the Catholic church and Akron itself has a large Catholic population. There are over 45 Catholic parishes in the metropolitan area. The 13-member city council, for instance, has seven Catholics and six non-Catholics.

Bishop Michael Murphey sent a letter to the city council voicing the church's



Ted Pollenbaum

Mashpee Indians lose

By Judy Polumbaum

THE WAMPANOAG INDIANS OF Mashpee, Mass., have lost the first court round in their efforts to recover land their ancestors owned on Cape Cod (IN THESE TIMES, Nov. 30, 1977).

A 12-member all white jury ruled Jan. 6 that the Wampanoag did not constitute a tribe at several points in their history. The decision, returned after a 40-day trial in U.S. District Court in Boston, was ambiguous enough, however, for Judge Walter Jay Skinner to postpone entering a judgment. It is conceivable he will order a new trial.

At stake are some 11,000 acres of undeveloped land, valued at more than \$30 million, that the Wampanoag claim was taken from them in violation of a federal law—the Indian Nonintercourse Act of 1790, which prohibits transfer or sale of tribal territory without congressional approval.

The suit is one of a dozen filed by Eastern Indian groups on the basis of the 1790 law. Since the Wampanoag have no treaty with the federal government or other form of official federal recognition, they must first prove they are a tribe and therefore protected by the law. The recent trial dealt with just the question of tribal status—upon which the rest of the case hinges.

In his three-hour charge to the jury, Judge Skinner said the jurors were to determine whether the Mashpee Indians were a tribe continuously through Aug. 26, 1976—the date the lawsuit was filed—and at five other dates between 1790 and 1860.

The judge admonished the jurors to stick to the questions he posed and not to worry about the consequences of their decision.

The jury, which deliberated more than 21 hours, found that the Indian group was not a tribe on four of the six dates in question and that no tribe existed continuously.

According to the verdict, the Mashpee Indians:

- were not a tribe in 1790 when Congress passed the law designed to protect Indians from unscrupulous land-grabbers.
- were a tribe in 1834 when the Massachusetts legislature designated Mashpee an Indian district and appointed a guardian over the residents.
- were a tribe in 1842 when the legislature allowed partition of Mashpee property into 60-acre lots for each native.
- were no longer a tribe in 1869 when restraints on the sale and transfer of Indian

land to non-Indians were lifted.

- were not a tribe in 1870 when Mashpee was incorporated as a Massachusetts town.
- were not a tribe in 1976 when the lawsuit was filed in federal court in Boston.

Defense lawyers characterized the jury's findings as a clear "victory" for the town of Mashpee, where all land titles have been clouded and real estate transactions frozen since the suit commenced.

The town's attorney, James St. Clair, Nixon's Watergate lawyer, admitting he was "surprised" at the verdict, said he was "greatly relieved."

Russell Peters, president of the Mashpee Wampanoag Indian Tribal Council, reacted to the verdict: "What we are dealing with is 200 years of injustice toward the Indians. This is just another example of that injustice cloaked in the halls of justice."

"What we have is a jury system that's not quite capable of dealing with a complex issue like this," Peters added.

The Wampanoag suit has been funded by the Colorado-based Native American Rights Fund (NARF), which is handling about 400 legal cases in 40 states. Boston lawyer Lawrence Shubow, his associate Anne Gilmore and three NARF attorneys represented the Mashpee Indians during the trial.

The Indians said the verdict would be appealed if the court accepted it, and Judge Skinner gave their attorneys three weeks to show why he should not dismiss the lawsuit.

On Jan. 26 NARF lawyer Barry Margolin presented arguments to the judge pointing out apparent inconsistencies in the jury's findings.

He argued that there was no evidence warranting the conclusion that the Indians were a tribe in 1842 but not in 1869, since according to evidence that emerged during the trial, the intervening years were the most stable period in the history of the Mashpee community.

The finding that no tribe existed in 1790, the year Congress passed the Indian Nonintercourse Act, also raised an interesting problem: Where did the tribe of 1834 and 1842 descend from?

"So there are all kinds of logical and legal problems that have to be resolved," Shubow noted in a recent interview. The judge took the matter under advisement and told attorneys not to expect a quick decision.

According to Shubow, "The ordering of a new trial is conceivable, but probably not likely. Then of course an appeal is inevitable."

Shubow explained that "there is no

Continued on page 5.

support of the law. Wreaven and other ordinance opponents feel that this letter was a "play it our way or we'll help defeat you" message from the church hierarchy.

Wreaven has been the target of some special abuse as a result of her opposition to the ordinance. Re-elected to the council as an "at large member," she pulled almost as many votes as Ray Kapper, who had spent four times as much money on his campaign.

When the newly elected council was selecting committee chairpersons Wreaven was already sitting as the chair of the Health and Social Services committee, the committee assigned to hold hearings on the abortion law. Wreaven was unseated and replaced by Kathleen Greisling, the only other woman on the council and a co-sponsor of the abortion bill.

"I couldn't believe it," Wreaven says, "I have never seen anyone elected 'at large' who didn't advance in the committee structure. I was replaced with a woman who had less than one year of council service compared to my six years."

Under councilwoman Greisling there have been two public hearings and another two are scheduled. The committee will then vote on sending the bill to the entire council.

The Pro-Choice coalition is preparing for passage of some sort of abortion regulation. "I doubt that the bill will pass as it is now written; the council will have to make some changes. If anything near it passes, though, we will go to court and seek an injunction immediately."

"The abortion clinics will have to close down if the ordinance is passed," says Kathy Lancaster Nichols of the Akron Women's Clinic, a view that is shared by most of the ordinance opponents.

"The city will never be able to regulate what occurs in a doctor's office," sums up Wreaven. "They don't have the staff to do it. So those who can afford \$450 to \$500 will continue to have abortions in Akron. This bill will hurt women who are poor or of moderate income. They will either have to travel to Cleveland or resort to their own abortions."

Tim Butz is a free-lance writer in Akron.

Mississippi ACLU drops Klan defense

WHILE KU KLUX KLAN leaders are gloating that they have provoked a loss of support for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), one deep South ACLU chapter has broken ranks with the national policy of handling KKK cases.

The Mississippi chapter of the ACLU has decided not to take a case defending the Klan's right to hold an "Americanism rally" at a Gulfport, Miss., high school. However, the national office of the ACLU, which has the prerogative to take up any case an affiliate rejects, may represent the Klan instead.

Dick Johnson president of the ACLU's Mississippi chapter said that his affiliate was compelled to change its mind due to pressure from the Gulfport school board and local high school students who opposed Klan activity at the high school. He also cited the resignation of ten of the Mississippi chapter's 21 state board members following a prior decision to defend the Klan as a contributing factor in the decision.

The ACLU's national board will decide soon whether the national office will take the case. But there are indications that this decision may be a foregone conclusion. Bruce Ennis, ACLU legal director, said that not only does he believe the ACLU should support the Klan in this case, but "most of the national leader-

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Candidate Carter's pledges scattered to the wind

By Howard Sherman

CANDIDATE CARTER MADE some wonderful promises during his campaign. He promised full employment, and pointed out that unemployment not only causes human misery but also vast losses in production and tax dollars. He emphasized the need for national health care. He called the tax system a "disgrace to the human race," and promised to remove all the loopholes by which the wealthy and the big corporations manage to avoid paying taxes amounting to a loss of an estimated \$77 billion in government revenue in 1972.

Candidate Carter also indicated he would help the big cities get more public housing, public service jobs, and reforms to insure a decent amount of welfare, while shifting the burden of payment from the cities to the federal government.

President Carter has not fulfilled these promises. His State of the Union address and his economic message to Congress spell out policies that are unpleasant to the Democrats' main voting blocs, but are well-received by Republicans. His program has been attacked by black leaders, the labor movement and mayors of big cities.

Nine Democratic mayors, meeting in New York, heard Carter say that he would not give more money for public housing, for public service jobs or for removing the welfare burden from the cities. Richard Thatcher, mayor of Gary (Ind.) said he was "dismayed." Mayor Thomas Smith of Jersey City said: "I feel crushed and dismayed."

But Republicans thought it was wonderful that Carter intends to increase public spending by only 2 percent, less than the average of 6 percent under President Ford. All the wonderful new programs for national health care, public housing, and improved educational opportunities are to be put off indefinitely.

After listening to Carter's State of the Union speech, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) said: "I gave the same speech in 1964 and I got the hell beat out of me." Sen. Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) commented: "If it were not for the accent, you could recognize it as a Republican speech."

Defense gets all of increase.

In 1977, 34 percent of all government spending went for current military expenditures, while 18 percent went for old military debts and obligations. 52 percent of the government budget was military spending. Only 23 percent went for "human resources," which includes all money for education, training, social services, health and income security.

Candidate Carter promised to reduce military spending, but the new budget increases military spending, which will use up all of the 2 percent increase in spending. There will, therefore, be no spending for new health, education, public service jobs, public housing or other new social programs.

According to a post election survey, more people voted for Carter because he promised full employment than for any other reason. So what does President Carter plan to do to achieve full employment?

First, his goal for January 1979 is to reduce unemployment to "only" 6 percent. But 6 percent unemployment was considered a catastrophe not long ago. And in any case, there is no reason to believe he will reach that goal in early 1979.

Although Carter is confusing some job programs started last year, the only spe-

Candidate Carter promised to reduce military spending, but the new budget increases it, using up the entire proposed increase in federal spending, with nothing left for new health, education, jobs or social programs.

cific new spending program (other than the military spending increases) is \$400 million to stimulate new jobs. But \$400 million is less than a drop in the bucket in a half trillion dollar budget, or in a two trillion dollar economy. Moreover, even this tiny amount is not going for public service jobs in cities than need them, but to "encourage private business" to hire workers by subsidies.

Little effect on unemployment.

President Carter has finally endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. The original bill, by the late Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Cal.) would have been a major advance against unemployment. The present bill is a watered down version. It now provides only for a yearly report from the President as to how he will achieve full employment.

The full employment goal originally was defined as employment for anyone who wants to work. The present bill defines full employment as 4 percent unemployment. The original bill provided for automatic increases of public service jobs as needed whenever the private economy failed to provide jobs. The present bill says that the government "should" (but need not) encourage private business to provide jobs—and specifically prohibits service jobs for two years after passage of the bill.

Carter's tax program allows for some tax increases and some decreases. One large tax increase is the planned \$14.5 billion rise in social security taxes. In addition, automatic increases in personal income taxes—as a result of inflation pushing people into higher income brackets—will cause a rise of another \$15 billion, according to Carter's estimates. So the total increase would be \$29.5 billion if nothing else changed.

Carter plans to decrease corporate taxes by \$6 billion and personal income taxes by \$17 billion. If these two decreases are added together, plus \$6.5 in miscellaneous and previously passed decreases, then the total planned decrease would also be \$29.5 billion.

The tax decreases will offset the tax increases, leaving aggregate demand for goods and services unaffected. As a result, Carter's total tax program will neither depress nor stimulate the economy. Since total taxes will remain unchanged, while government spending rises only 2 percent in constant dollars, there will be little effect on employment.

Change in income distribution.

There will be some changes in the distribution of income as some groups pay less in taxes and some pay more.

Big business will gain because Carter



is going to lower corporate taxes by at least \$6 billion a year. Specifically, Carter would lower the corporate tax rate and make permanent a large tax loophole for the big corporations, namely, the 10 percent tax credit on new investment.

Carter's actions are similar to those that other presidents have followed for some years. In 1944 corporate income taxes were 34 percent of all federal taxes. By 1974 corporate income taxes were down to only 14 percent of all federal taxes. So Carter's lower corporate rates and permanent tax credits will continue this trend.

Obviously, if corporations pay a smaller share of taxes, then everyone else's share must go up. The main increase is the planned jump of \$14.5 billion in social security taxes, which fall mainly on workers, particularly the lowest paid workers.

Social security taxes have already risen from 4 percent of all federal taxes in 1950 to 11 percent in 1970. Carter is merely continuing this conservative trend.

The combined effect of higher social security taxes and lower income taxes will

mean slightly higher taxes for people making less than \$5,000. If we can believe Carter's estimates, people in the \$5,000 to \$20,000 income range will pay somewhat lower total taxes. The rich will also pay somewhat higher total personal taxes, but they will be far more than compensated by the \$6 billion drop in corporate taxes, since almost all corporate stock is held by the rich.

What about candidate Carter's pledge to close the tax loopholes of the rich? Carter's reforms include the end of a few tax shelters, as well as reduction of business deductions for lunches and entertainment. But Carter will not change the two largest loopholes: (1) capital gains will continue to be taxed on only half their actual amount, while (2) interest on municipal bonds will still be tax exempt. Even if Congress agrees to plug the minor loopholes—which is doubtful—the corporations will still be \$6 billion richer.

Howard Sherman is Professor of Economics at University of California, Riverside. His most recent book is *Stagflation, A Radical Theory of Unemployment and Inflation* (Harper & Row, 1976).

Mashpee Indians lose

Continued from page 4.

way the present property owners can have their titles validated, and there is no way the Indians can win their action, without an act of Congress. So the jury's findings won't be decisive, although they will affect the outcome of the case."

Senators Edward Kennedy and Edward Brooke and Rep. Gerry Studds from Massachusetts proposed last year that Congress pay the Mashpee Indians \$4 million in exchange for wiping out any claim to about 1,000 developed acres in the town. But town selectmen refused that solution

because it didn't remove from controversy the land slated for development.

Now the Massachusetts congressional delegation has said it will not file legislation unless the Indians and the town arrive at a negotiated solution. Shubow said he believes negotiations in Washington will be renewed; and he speculated that "Congress won't extinguish Indian rights without compensation—either a chunk of land or money or both—because it's not nice to massacre Indians anymore." Judy Polumbaum is a free-lance writer in New England.

PARTY POLITICS

Reaganites battle for GOP power

By Christopher Buchanan

WASHINGTON

WHEN RONALD REAGAN'S chief political strategist Lyn Nofziger was asked recently who controlled the Republican party he responded with a hearty laugh and suggested that nobody did and nobody could.

But liberals and moderates in the party do not think it is a laughing matter. They see the supporters of Reagan's 1976 presidential candidacy gradually taking positions of importance in the party structure, both at the national and state levels.

Both sides publicly try to play down a factional split in the party. But privately Reagan backers admit satisfaction in placing loyalists in key positions.

There are some who suggest that control of the party is not that significant. John Deardourff, Ford's media architect in the general election, feels conservatives already may be the dominant force in the party. But he declared, "Whether or not the right wing controls the party is not very important. What is important is winning elections in the major urban areas of the country where the political power lies, and the right wing isn't able to do that."

Nofziger claims that Reagan's strength is "with the people" and not "in the party hierarchy." The Republican National Committee (RNC), he says, "doesn't represent a hell of a lot except itself."

Despite disclaimers of the importance of the party, Reagan activists have made several attempts to develop a strong voice in party affairs:

- They waged a strong campaign to elect an ardent Reagan supporter to the national committee chairmanship in January 1977. The attempt failed.

- In many states people who were loyal to the former California governor have been selected as state party chairmen.

- At the January 20-21 meeting of the RNC in Washington, Gloria E.A. Toote, a black Reagan supporter, tried to unseat the moderate party cochairman, Mary Crisp. Toote lost.

- Partially in response to a letter from Nofziger, RNC chairman Bill Brock hired a former Reagan field coordinator, Charlie Black, to head the campaign operations division of the national committee.

The first attempt by Reagan supporters to seize the reins of power failed when national committee members picked former Sen. Brock (Tenn. 1971-77) to head the party over Utah state chairman Richard Richards.

Brock's victory largely came because the memories of the divisive 1976 convention were still too fresh for party members to elect a chairman too closely aligned with either side. Brock, although a Ford supporter at the convention, was seen as a compromise choice because both Ford and Reagan were backing other candidates.

When Ford's candidate dropped out a few days before the balloting it became a race between Brock, acceptable to Ford supporters, and Richards, Reagan's man.

Current estimates are that the conservative wing of the party loyal to Reagan may constitute between 30 percent and 40 percent of the 162-member national committee. The committee, which sets the policy of the party between conventions and approves the party's budget, is composed of the state chairman plus a national committeeman and committeewoman elected from each state as well as the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands.

Brock's first year.

Since his election Brock has had the ticklish job of trying to accommodate both Ford and Reagan forces in the party.

Despite some defeats in inter-party battles the Reagan forces have made some impressive gains. It is estimated that they may control 40 percent of the RNC.

Brock's latest tangle with the Reagan forces is over the Panama Canal treaties. Some Republicans feel opposition to the treaties should be their rallying cry. Others, most notably Ford, support the treaties.

The problem arose when a close Reagan ally, Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), requested \$50,000 from the RNC to help finance a "truth squad" of treaty opponents on a nationwide speaking tour.

Reagan was upset because he wanted money raised from a letter he signed for the RNC to be used to help defeat the treaties, one of the two stated objectives in the letter. (The other was the election of Republican candidates.)

Although the national committee voted Sept. 30 to oppose the treaties "in their present form," Brock refused the request on the grounds that party funds cannot be used for unaffiliated groups without national committee approval.

Another move by Brock that upset conservatives in the party was his selection of Mary Crisp as the party's co-chairperson. Crisp, a Ford supporter and national committeewoman from Arizona, angered Reagan supporters with her vocal support of the Equal Rights Amendment, and more directly by remarks she made in *The Columbus Dispatch* last August.

She disagreed with Reagan over what she called "this idea of purism—how pure is your conservatism?" She also attacked his political action committee, Citizens for the Republic, saying it was "draining money from the coffers of the Republican party."

The result of this unhappiness on the part of Reagan supporters was the challenge to Crisp at the national committee hearing by Toote, a black lawyer from Harlem. Toote served as an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development until April 1975, when she left over



GOP co-chair Mary Crisp (above) angered the Reaganites with some vocal criticisms and so they sought, unsuccessfully, to have her removed and replaced by one of their own.

differences with HUD Secretary Carla A. Hills. She later became a Reagan supporter and seconded his nomination at the convention.

Conservatives campaigned for Toote using two approaches. First they claimed the fact that Toote is black would help symbolize the GOP's efforts to attract more minority voters. At the same time they criticized Crisp as being out of step with the mainstream of party philosophy. The conservative weekly newspaper, *Human Events*, called Crisp "the GOP's Gloria Steinem."

When it came to the vote, however, Crisp won easily 118 to 37. RNC members, even some who might be sympathetic to Reagan on other issues, considered the Toote candidacy an unwarranted attempt to stifle critical discussion in the party.

The RNC did take the precaution of inviting black leader Jesse Jackson to give the keynote speech for the two-day meet-

ing, short-circuiting any appearance of racial motivation in Toote's defeat.

Reagan backers have gained control of eight of approximately 20 states that have picked new chairmen since the presidential election. Most of the gains have come in traditionally conservative states in the South, West and Midwest.

Gains in California and Texas are particularly satisfying to Reagan. During the 1976 campaign, the state party machinery in both states did not support him, despite his victories in both states' primaries.

It is nearly impossible to speculate on what effect this will have on the 1980 presidential elections. As far as the midterm elections, some Republicans feel that the Reagan troops in 1976 were more aggressive than party regulars who stayed with the incumbent. Their hope is that the energy that was displayed in 1976 can be transferred to statewide and local races.

(© Congressional Quarterly)

Why Jesse Jackson went to the GOP

By Francis Ward

THE REV. JESSE L. JACKSON OF the Chicago-based Operation PUSH attracted considerable attention when he delivered a major address before the Republican National Committee in late January. His appearance raised a lot of eyebrows: What was a major black political leader doing addressing a body not known for its responsiveness to black concerns?

To understand Jackson's appearance you first have to understand Jackson's basic posture as a hustler whose primary goal is to sell and promote himself and his programs. In so doing, of course, he may also sell and promote ideas and causes with some respectability or legitimacy. Just remember that the hustler mentality puts the self first and foremost, ahead of any other person or cause.

Such is the case with Jackson's pronouncements to the Republicans about their much-ballyhooed appeal to black voters, and Jackson's over-ballyhooed



Jackson basically is a hustler.

"PUSH for Excellence" program in which he's supposed to be reforming and remodeling the nation's black and poor schoolchildren.

Jackson's PUSH for Excellence and push for Republican influence (or money) have one thing in common: Both sound good, like sweet, thought-provoking music to the ears of white middle class America in this era of backlash, retrenchment and abandonment of the ideals of the Great Society.

Jackson tried to sell the Republicans on appealing for more black votes through support for the legislative goals that blacks and their allies generally favor. In explaining his GOP pitch to his Saturday morning Operation PUSH audience, Jackson also talked about how two million black voters in the GOP column could neutralize the party's rightwing and move the GOP further to the center—even slightly to the left.

It's only the consistent prodding and threat of black backlash, said Jackson, that keeps the Democrats honest.

Continued on page 18.

COMMENT

PANAMA CANAL TREATIES

The battle for public support

By David M. Maxfield

WASHINGTON

LAST FALL AS SENATE MINORITY leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.), then uncommitted on the Panama Canal treaties, took his seat at the University of Tennessee/Memphis State football game in Knoxville, even he must have been surprised. Above the stadium a light plane towed a banner calling upon the fans to "Save Our Canal."

Sponsored by the American Conservative Union (ACU), the streamer symbolizes the variety of direct and indirect pressures placed on senators in the treaty fight expected to reach the Senate floor soon.

Aside from presidential election campaigns and the anti-Vietnam war effort, there have been few political battles in recent years to match the national emotion roused by the pending treaties.

Since September the opposition has fought the treaties with mail campaigns, radio spots, a TV documentary and "truth squads" of Senate and House members sent around the country to apply pressure on those senators still uncommitted.

The total cost of these activities cannot be determined because many groups are involved, ranging from the American Legion and other veterans groups, to conservative political organizations, to ad hoc committees set up to fight only this issue. But the ACU alone has raised and spent \$600,000, according to its records, and another component in the fight, the Conservative Caucus, reports the collection and expenditure of \$815,000.

Viewing the position taken by a senator on the issue as a true test of his conservative credentials and hoping the controversy will help expand their own political influence, opponents are promising to fight the re-election of any members who support the agreements.

"Right now, I think we are losing," Howard Phillips, national director of the Conservative Caucus, said Jan. 16, the day Baker announced that he would support the treaties, provided they were amended to clarify key defense provisions. "But this will turn around," Phillips added, "if senators see they'll be opposed and defeated if they vote for the treaties. We're lining up candidates."

Playing catch up.

Admittedly playing catch-up ball for public opinion on the treaties, private groups aiding the White House are now crisscrossing the country for support. They also are organizing at the grassroots level to show crucial members of the Senate that considerable but untapped support exists for the agreements. At first the administration and supporters had focused chiefly on Capitol Hill lobbying, leaving the anti-treaty side free to cultivate local opposition.

"At a minimum our purpose is to get mail to the Senate offices," said a spokesman for the Canal Treaties, Inc., which was established in October by prominent treaty backers. "When a senator—take [John C.] Danforth (R-Mo.), for example—gets 12,000 pieces of mail against the treaties and only 200 for, he can't help but be concerned, although he may be planning to vote for the treaties," the spokesman added. "We're trying to ease that pressure."

Established to mount a "national program of education" about the treaties, the Committee of Americans for the Canal Treaties, Inc. sports a roster of well-known members—former President Ford, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and George Meany, among others enlisted for their opinion-molding abilities. The committee maintains a "loose cooperation" with the White House, although it is "totally independent" of its operations, according to a committee spokesman.

Because it has no connection with federal election campaigns, the group can accept contributions from corporations.



Senators Jesse Helms, Strom Thurmond and Orrin Hatch, all opposed to the treaties, hold a press conference in the Canal Zone.

Total fund-raising and expenditures to date are in the \$200,000 range, with the final amount—mainly for advertising—expected to be "under \$1 million." A television campaign is planned for late February as the Senate debate heats up.

New directions.

The administration's treaty fight also is aided by the Committee for Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties. This group was initiated by New Directions, a liberal-leaning foreign policy organization founded in 1976 somewhat on the model of the well known citizens lobby Common Cause. Members of the committee include the AFL-CIO, Democratic National Committee, United Auto Workers, Americans for Democratic Action and the Washington Office on Latin America.

Focused on winning treaty support at the state and local levels, the organization was set up because treaty supporters felt, in the words of one organizer, that "nothing had happened" on lobbying for the agreements after the signing ceremonies in Washington Sept. 7.

The committee's operating budget amounts to only \$19,000 for printing costs of a booklet about the treaties and travel expenses of field organizers dispatched by member organizations to rally support for the agreements. States targeted for special attention are Texas, Delaware, Florida, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Tennessee.

New Directions, itself, however, has sent out a 1.1 million mailing to liberal cause backers, such as Common Cause members, asking that they send letters to senators supporting the treaties. Signed by New Directions chairperson Margaret Mead, the mailing cost \$137,500, with \$50,000 coming directly from New Direc-

tions and the remainder from the Democratic National Committee, United Steel Workers, Occidental Petroleum and the Communications Workers of America among other organizations.

Like the conservatives battling the treaties, New Directions is not blind to the possibility that the issue could be helpful for its organization-building, much as the Watergate scandal helped to substantially boost the membership ranks of Common Cause.

"The only way to launch an organization is by an issue," said a spokesman, noting that the canal was the first major nationally debated foreign policy issue since the group was founded.

Truth squads.

Opposition to the canal treaties comes mainly from conservative organizations and members of Congress, many with political ties to former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, who sparked the canal debate during the 1976 Republican presidential primaries.

Reagan backer Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), for example, and Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.) are responsible for organizing the "truth squad" of 20 members of Congress that left Washington Jan. 17 on a nationwide campaign to "focus renewed public interest in the treaties."

The campaign was planned last September at a strategy meeting held at the Virginia home of Richard Viguerie, a publicist for conservative causes.

The "truth squad" is financed by \$100,000 in individual donations and contributions from eight conservative groups operating under the Committee to Save the Panama Canal. This is a "short-term" organization set up to avoid restrictions placed on member

groups under election, lobby and tax laws.

The eight organizations—the most active opponents in the canal fight—are: American Conservative Union, Conservative Caucus, Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Citizens for the Republic, American Security Council, Young Republicans, National Conservative Political Action Committee and Council for National Defense.

Besides cooperating on the "truth squad" tour, a number of these conservative organizations plus such others as STOP ERA belong to the Emergency Coalition to Save the Panama Canal. Organized by the ACU shortly after the treaties were signed, the coalition continues to meet in Washington to plan strategy for the Senate battle.

Since May 1976, ACU on its own behalf has sent out 1.8 million pieces of mail aimed at raising funds to continue the anti-treaty campaign and to generate the thousands of postcards and letters pouring onto Capitol Hill. Mailing lists include the ACU's own in addition to those of the *National Review*, *Human Events* and other conservative publications.

The \$600,000 raised and spent so far by the ACU, chaired by Rep. Crane, includes \$125,000 for broadcasting a 30-minute videotape on 150 television stations in 18 states. The telecast is "self-supporting" with pledges phoned in by viewers that then pay for additional time on other stations.

The organization also has sponsored anti-treaty newspaper ads that appeared in about 30 cities, a petition drive, and a trip by Rep. Crane to Denver in October after President Carter appeared there.

In addition to its work in the anti-treaty umbrella groups, the Conservative Caucus, which "is organized at the local level" to support conservative causes, has sent out two million pieces of mail urging letters be sent to Senate and House members. This mailing was handled by Viguerie's company.

The group launched a radio-TV campaign in November, sending to 500 stations messages based on excerpts of Reagan's testimony before a Senate subcommittee in September.

On Feb. 22, it plans to sponsor a nationwide "Keep Our Canal Day" dramatized by motorists turning on headlights to show opposition to the treaties. A "voter pledge program" also is in the works. The goal is to secure commitments from 10,000 voters in each state that they will "never vote for any person who votes for the treaties."

(© Congressional Quarterly)

Committee approves treaties

With an unexpected majority of 14 to 1 the Senate Foreign Relations committee approved the controversial Panama Canal Treaties Jan. 30. The treaties, which guarantee the permanent neutrality of the Canal and Panama's control of the Canal by the year 2000, now go to the full Senate for debate. The treaties have to pass the Senate with a two-thirds vote.

Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), the Senate minority leader, said chances of ratification were "improving daily."

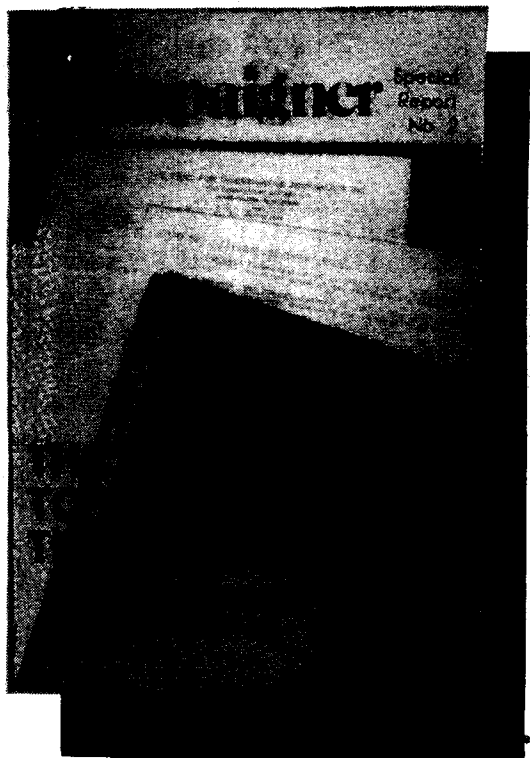
Opposition continued however.

The committee voted to recommend to the Senate that the U.S. should have the right to defend the Canal after the year 2000 and in times of "crisis." The "crisis" language comes from a joint statement issued after President Carter met with Panama's leader, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos on Oct. 14.

While adding the article on defense rights to the treaties, the committee voted down amendments critical of Panama's stand on human rights.

LABOR

Turmoil in the Teamsters



Labor Party pamphlet circulated by top Teamsters blames the Rockefellers.

Collaboration with U.S. Labor Party

As part of their counterattack against union dissidents some Teamster leaders are using union funds and resources to distribute literature of the U.S. Labor party. Founded in 1968 as the National Caucus of Labor Committees, the USLP has violently disrupted meetings of left organizations and actively collaborated with the New Hampshire State Police in obtaining intelligence on the Clamshell Alliance, the sponsors of last year's occupation of the Seabrook nuclear plant site.

In June 1977 the USLP published an extensive pamphlet entitled "The Plot to Destroy the Teamsters: What's Behind It. How to Stop It." The report alleges that a vast conspiracy—organized by the Rockefeller family, funded through tax-exempt foundations, and linked to the federal government through President Carter and the Trilateral Commission—created PROD, the TDU, *Overdrive* magazine, the Fraternal Association of Steelhaulers (FASH) and other reform groups to infiltrate and destroy the Teamsters union.

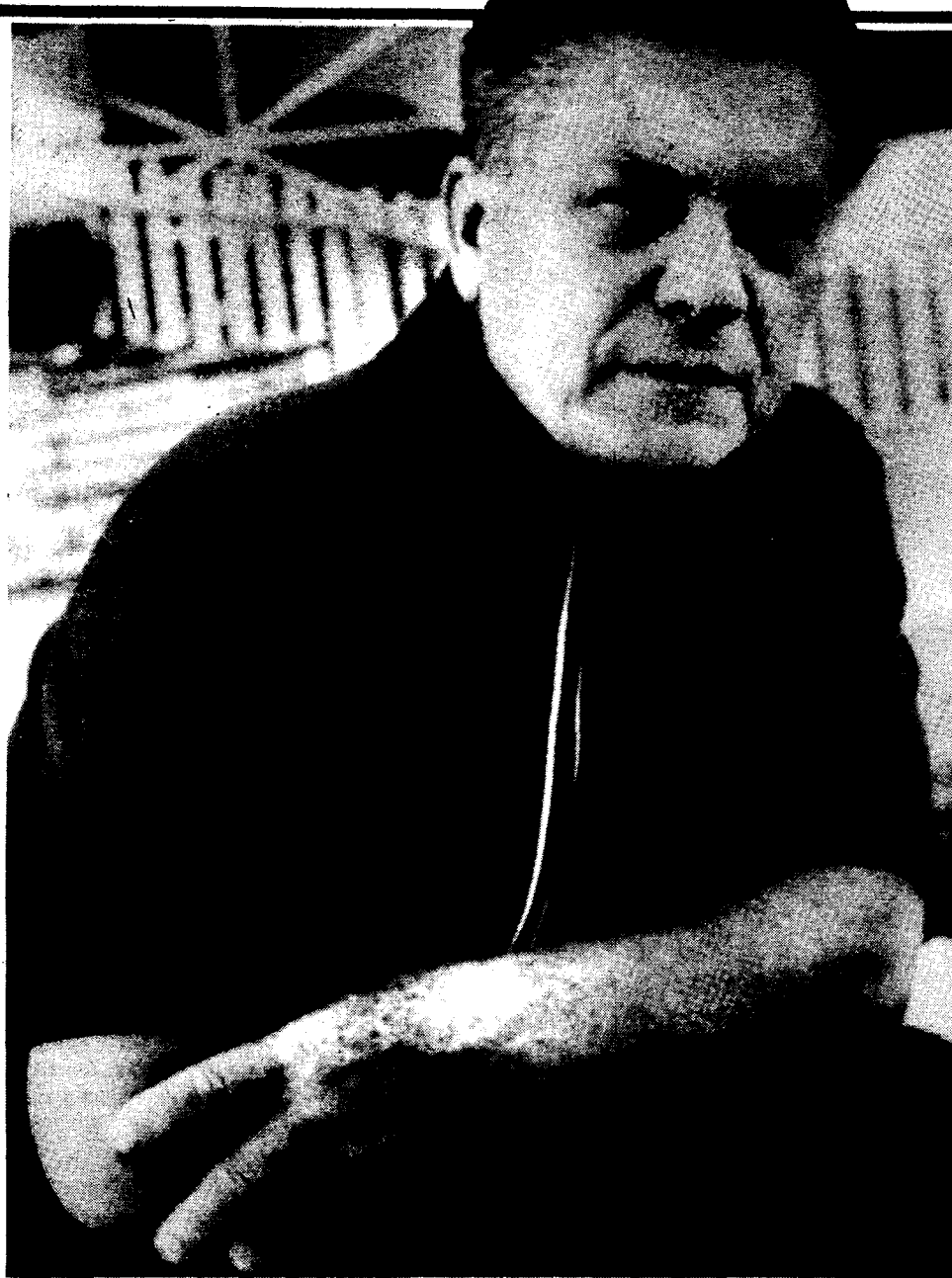
The USLP views the Teamsters union and its current policies as the potential "centerpiece" of a political coalition that would promote rapid economic growth, a "period of forced technological progress," and "broad political harmony" between labor and industrialists.

The report reprints an Oct. 27 speech by Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons headlined: "Teamsters' President Declares War on Union Busters." Like the USLP, Fitzsimmons blames the "plot" to destroy the union on assorted "outsiders" who are financed by the Rockefeller Family Foundation, the Kaplan Fund, the Stern Fund and the New World Foundation.

According to the USLP, 44,000 copies of the report have been sold around the country, "most in bulk orders to Teamster locals."

In Fond du Lac, Wisc., for example, Donald Wetzel, secretary-treasurer of Local 126, sent copies of the USLP report to various union members with a cover letter asking for comments on it. The officers of Local 641 in Jersey City, N.J., reportedly allowed the USLP to display their materials at a local union meeting.

In addition, the USLP is the probable source of a "phony deregulation letter" intended to discredit PROD, says Bob Windrem, PROD research director. Teamster locals have received copies of a letter, supposedly from PROD Counsel Arthur Fox to an unnamed Senator, saying that PROD favors trucking deregulation as a way to destroy the Teamsters union. Local officials have been reading this forged



Because Jimmy Hoffa was respected by the rank and file as a competent fighter, they were willing to overlook union corruption.

Why Hoffa had to die

DESPERATE BARGAIN: WHY JIMMY HOFFA HAD TO DIE

By Lester Velie
Readers Digest Press, 1977, \$10.00

To understand the continuing efforts to reform the Teamsters union, an understanding of James Riddle Hoffa is essential. Hoffa seized the union presidency at the 1957 convention—where he seated 561 fraudulent delegates through his control of the credentials committee and connections with organized crime—and went on to construct a union machine that trampled members' rights and funneled millions of pension fund dollars into the hands of recognized gangsters.

Over two years after Hoffa's disappearance, federal investigations of his presumed murder have collapsed. And the complex character of Jimmy Hoffa has largely remained a mystery.

In *Desperate Bargain: Why Jimmy Hoffa Had to Die* Lester Velie unravels the twisted strands of that personality and explains how it strangled union democracy for decades. As a reporter for *Readers Digest*, Velie has written 17 pieces on Hoffa since first meeting him as a little-known Detroit Teamster official in 1955.

His book describes Hoffa, first, as an extraordinary labor leader who was idolized by many rank and filers until the end. A Teamster organizer at the age of 19, Hoffa was hauled from a picket line 18 times by the police during one 24-hour period. As union president he spent a good deal of his time, according to Velie, talking to union members on the docks and solving their individual grievances by phone. Despite an eighth-grade education, Hoffa possessed almost total recall of detailed union affairs and became "one of the most knowledgeable men" in the field of labor law.

It also portrays the personal Hoffa. A "curiously Puritanical figure" who abused alcohol, coffee and nicotine, Hoffa

had the presence of mind, for instance, to take quick naps on the witness table between sessions of the McClellan Committee probes into Teamster corruption.

It also reveals a ruthless, dictatorial Hoffa, continually driving for enhanced union power and wealth. Trying to make himself union president for life, Hoffa pushed through constitutional amendments that gave the president the powers to put locals into trusteeship at whim and grant lucrative "general organizer" jobs to administration loyalists. Other changes enabled union leaders to hold multiple office and thereby collect salaries in the six-figure bracket.

Most importantly, the book examines how Hoffa opened up the union and its pension-fund treasure chest to the greed of organized crime. The book's title refers to a "desperate bargain" the young Hoffa supposedly made with the mafia. In the early 1930s Hoffa was accused of spilling mafia blood in his union organizing exploits and tried for his life by a mafia court: Hoffa was released, Velie contends, after convincing the court that he could be worth more to them alive, since he could place the union's power at their disposal.

The author relies on this incident to explain Hoffa's life-long cooperation with gangsters and his subsequent role in the "supermob," those power brokers who link the underworld with the upperworld. The simplicity of this explanation defies belief, but its accuracy will probably never be known.

It is known, however, that Hoffa's rise to power was inextricably tied to the assistance of organized crime figures. He appointed them to union positions, tolerated their control of Teamster locals, and granted them loans from the union's Central States Pension Fund.

It was exactly these connections, and Hoffa's encyclopedic knowledge of mob

Continued on page 20.

document at meetings and posting it on union bulletin boards. PROD has threatened Fitzsimmons with legal action unless these activities are halted.

Dissidents gain

Amid persistent rumors that Frank Fitzsimmons will soon resign his post as president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, union reformers have made some drastic gains in recent local union elections.

In Green Bay, Wisc., four members of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) swept an election in Local 75. The candidates, who won the three top offices and one trustee position by substantial margins, now constitute a majority of the seven-man executive board. The election was particularly important, the TDU explains, because it entailed unifying the trucking and non-trucking (grocery warehouses, cheese processing plants) sections of the 2,500-member local.

In Plattsburg, N.Y., Gary Harris, a member of the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), was elected secretary-treasurer, the principal office, of Local 648. The victorious reform slate now controls the local.

PROD activist Ken Stockton was chosen to lead Local 430 in York, Pa. The dissident slate there contested six positions and won five.

In other locals an "extraordinary" number of incumbent officials were defeated. "While not necessarily running on reform platforms, spontaneous dissident groups are picking up the momentum started by PROD and TDU. This apparently has top Teamsters leaders worried," says Windrem.

This momentum is also contributing to increased media coverage of reform efforts. Though it included no new information, a PROD story on Teamsters' officials salaries was distributed by the national wire services and picked up by daily papers coast to coast. NBC has prepared a three-part series of reports, to be aired in mid-February, on union rebels and the federal government's failure to take action against top-level union corruption. In May the conservative *Readers Digest* will run a story on PROD and TDU.

Despite these auspicious victories, the reform movement has been unable to upset the traditional seat of Teamster power—Detroit. TDU activist Bob Janadia recently challenged Bobby Holmes, an international vice president, for the presidency of Local 337. Spending up to \$70,000 in his reelection bid, Holmes transported sympathetic workers to the polls in specially chartered buses. Employers gave workers time off where it appeared that they supported Holmes. Janadia partisans received no similar privileges.

When the votes were tallied, Janadia pulled in 42 percent of the total. The three-man reform slate is contesting the outcome.

In Detroit Local 299, the home local of Fitzsimmons and Hoffa, the TDU tentatively allied with the Concerned Members, a pre-existing reform caucus. Pete Karagozin, the Concerned Members candidate for president, lost to current president Robert Lins by 244 votes out of 7,258 cast. Other Concerned Members won recording-secretary and trustee positions.

In the 299 race for vice-president, Ray Banks, running on Lins' slate, won with a minority vote of 2,710. TDU leader Pete Camarata and Concerned Member Pat Foley split the opposition vote down the middle with over 1,800 each. A fourth candidate drew 876 votes.

TDU intends to utilize the election campaign to mount a renewed movement to amend the by-laws of the 15,000-member Local 299. They are demanding rank and file election of stewards and business agents.

IN THE WORLD

Third World angry with Carter's false promises

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

A NORTH-SOUTH TRADE WAR may be in the offing, unless the American government shows a greater willingness to negotiate better terms of trade for developing country commodity exporters. This was one of the messages that French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing delivered to Jimmy Carter in Paris.

The message came on the heels of a warning, issued by Sr. Manuel Perez-Guerrero, Venezuela's roving ambassador and the brains behind the foundation of OPEC, that the Third World might "go it alone" in establishing a more equitable system of international trade, should the "gang of four" (the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the UK and the U.S.) remain hostile to serious bargaining on the trade component of a New International Economic Order.

Sr. Perez-Guerrero's warning was occasioned by the early and inconclusive adjournment of the second Common Fund Conference in Geneva Dec. 2. The Common Fund, as envisaged by the UN and its developing country member states, would serve as an independent source of finance for stockpiling 18 basic commodities and for such "other measures" as diversification of the export mixes of Third World trading nations. The first Common Fund Conference, also held in Geneva under the auspices of the UN Conference on Trade & Development (UNCTAD), collapsed last April due to U.S. stonewalling (1/17, Sept. 28, 1977).

Third World delegates to the second Common Fund Conference came to see American intransigence as the main stumbling block to international trade reform. Their statements represent a marked shift in attitude: Developing countries had welcomed Jimmy Carter's election because the challenger had expressed support for their aspirations for a better shake in world commodity markets.

In a campaign speech, Carter had plumped for "a multi-year agreement that would involve a relatively fixed price...and a guaranteed purchase of a certain quantity of the commodity [in question], again subject to fluctuations." Further, he had stressed that "the developing nations must not only be the objects of policy, but must also participate in shaping it."

Third World good will toward the Carter administration survived the initial Common Fund debacle, largely on the strength of a belief that the new team in Washington was still getting its trade act together and needed time to sort out policy options. Now, with the breakdown of the second round of talks, developing country patience is at an end.

Fear of Third World control.

The failure of the second Common Fund Conference was predicted almost at the outset in a statement to delegates by the head of the American contingent, Assistant Secretary of State Paul Boeker. (Boeker subsequently left to become the U.S. ambassador to Bolivia.) Establishment of the kind of fund being advocated by the Third World bloc and the UN, Boeker argued, would constitute an "unacceptable shift in control of commodity trade from consumers to producers."

In his campaign speeches, Jimmy Carter promised improved economic relations with 3rd World countries if he became president. But at last June's North-South talks in Paris and in this fall's talks in Geneva, the Carter line has differed little from Ford and Kissinger.

Boeker's pronouncement accurately reflects current American thinking. While it represents a certain advance over what passed for trade policy in the Nixon/Ford years, in that it countenances the "management" of trade in certain key commodities, it falls far short of Carter's 1976 call for greater equity.

As developing country observers now realize, the Carter administration supports the restructuring of commodity trade only insofar as it will help to stabilize the prices of imports deemed crucial to the American economy and thus aid in curbing domestic inflation. In practice, this means espousal of a Common Fund whose operations are controlled by the Western consumer nations and are devoted mainly to the buffer stocking of a narrow range of commodities.

Though its official caveat has been that an independent Common Fund would be inefficient, if not superfluous, the real reason for Washington's hostility is that the Fund's international managers are likely to be too Third World-oriented. It would realize Boeker's fears of control of commodity trading by producers.

The U.S. government would have preferred to stick with the old system of regulation through individual commodity agreements (e.g., those covering sugar or tin). In negotiating these pacts, the U.S., as the major world consumer of most basic commodities and a key producer of a fair number of them, has generally been able to call the tune.

Deaf ears to "second window."

Despite its preference for the old system of autonomous individual agreements, the Carter administration committed itself to some sort of Common Fund at the May-June "North-South Dialogue" in Paris. At Geneva, a fall-back position has been banged together: It proposes that the fund's operating pool of some \$6 million be financed largely by deposits from existing and/or future individual commodity agreements and credits from international lending institutions, a neat formula for perpetuating the industrialized world's control over the terms of



Courtesy Venezuelan Embassy

Sr. Manuel Perez-Guerrero, Venezuela's roving ambassador, and key spokesman for Third World at Geneva.

commodity trading.

Any Common Fund so constituted could be starved of capital if it did not march in step with the Western consumer nations. Realizing this, the developing countries have argued that direct contributions from participating governments should be the main source of financing for the fund.

The American delegation in Geneva also came out flatly against calls from the least developed nations for a Fund "second window" to accommodate "other measures" such as trade promotion and loans for diversification of export capacity. This "second window" has been most vigorously demanded by the African exporting nations, many of whom rely on single-product sales for economic survival.

Their case was dramatically put at the conference by Yussef Balagay, head of the delegation from the Gambia (the homeland of Alex Haley's ancestors): Pointing out that his country depends on vegetable oil exports for 82 percent of its foreign exchange, Balagay said that "we need to lose our dependence on vegetable oils... Without a second window and a new commodity focus, the Common Fund is irrelevant to the Gambia."

The U.S. delegation was unmoved. Such facilities are unnecessary, they contended: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the regional development banks and the Rockefeller Foundation are already doing a fine job in meeting these needs. Developing country objections that these international bodies are too Western-oriented to be truly responsive to Third World demands, especially those of least developed nations like the Gambia, fell on deaf ears.

European defection.

As efforts to reach a compromise on these two points failed, the developing country bloc called for and got adjournment of the second Common Fund Conference Dec. 2, two days ahead of schedule. Once again, American intransigence had succeeded in forestalling establishment of a Common Fund. This time, however, the victory may be a Pyrrhic one.

At the March Conference in Geneva, the U.S. delegation had the support of almost all of the industrialized nations, including the EEC bloc. Now, as Giscard d'Estaing has warned Carter, the EEC can no longer be counted upon to follow Washington's lead. As the 1973 oil embargo proved, Europe is too vulnerable to boycotts on strategic commodities to risk Third World wrath over terms of trade.

European impatience with American foot-dragging was symbolized by the last-minute appearance before the second conference of Jan Pronk, the Dutch socialist Minister for Development Cooperation, who came to pledge his government's support for an independent Common Fund and to offer \$25 million to get the ball rolling. The Dutch initiative was seconded by the Nordic countries and was received sympathetically by other Western European states, with the prominent exceptions of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom.

Other prominent defections from the American camp occurred. Canada, which had taken a hard line at the March conference, has come around to cautious support for the UN/Third World versions of the Common Fund; even the right-wing Australian government, smelling a better deal for its range of exports in world commodity markets, has gone over to the enemy.

The risk for the U.S., then, is not so much an exasperated non-aligned world's decision to "go it alone" in restructuring the international trade system, but the growing possibility of a North-South trade pact among the developing countries, Europe and the more progressive (or opportunistic) industrial nations of the British Commonwealth. No American government that claims to be trying to right its balance of payments or ease domestic unemployment through trade expansion—to mention only the more prosaic aims of current American trade policy—can look upon this trend with serenity.

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ETHIOPIA

Popular Front builds a state within a state

GERARD CHALIAND WENT TO ERITREA LAST SPRING AND wrote a report on his stay there. Chaliand is the author of the recently published *Revolution in the Third World* and of books on Vietnam, Angola, and the Palestinians. In the third and final part of his report, Chaliand visits the Popular Front's bases on the northern border between Ethiopia and the Sudan. Trapped in their own garrisons and demoralized, the Ethiopian soldiers pose no threat to the guerillas there, and as a result the guerillas have been able to institute far-reaching reforms.

One has to negotiate a vertiginous slope between the provinces of Sambar and Sahel and the high Eritrean plateau to arrive at Hamassien. Leaving behind the warm and humid lowlands populated by Muslim semi-nomads, one enters a zone situated at an altitude of over 6,500 feet, where the nights are cold and the inhabitants, generally Christian farmers, dress in the white robes that are common in Ethiopia.

This region is very populated in comparison with the other. The FPLE is trying to create a nation out of these communities, where tribal and religious alliances are fundamental. The guerillas say the country has three million inhabitants, but figures based on British counts taken in the '50s, show more like two million.

As in the Andes, different climates and forms of vegetation overlap one another. Above 3,000 feet acacias and cypresses abound on the humid green slopes. The large farms with their ochre walls and green shutters probably charmed the Italian colonizers; now they are all occupied by the FPLE.

Coffee plantations, corn fields, mango and mandarin orange groves, and vegetable fields follow one another. Cooperatives control about 1,600 acres, 600 of which are cultivated by 500 FPLE militants, thus avoiding dependence on the local population. The rest of the land has been distributed to landless peasants, who share the fruits of the land.

At night, one can clearly see the lights of Massaoua Harbor. The guerillas communicate with walkie-talkies. Everything is quiet. Not far from the farm at which we are staying, a thickly wooded area protects a workshop where vehicles from the Front are repaired. Around 50 militants, seven of them women, repair five or six vehicles a day, including Land Rovers and 30-ton trucks that link Asmara to the frontier of Sudan in less than 24 hours.

As day breaks, the air becomes more and more biting. We are 7,000 feet above sea level, 18 miles from Asmara, right in

Tigrinya country, with its ochre land, scarce vegetation, small hills and very carefully cultivated fields. Each village has its own church, sometimes round like a watch tower, with a central altar surrounded by icons. One has to take his shoes off in order to enter, as if it were a mosque. Contrary to the provinces of Sahel and Samhar, Hamassien is very densely populated.

Land reform.

On the high plateau, villages often have three to five thousand inhabitants. Traditional houses with flat roofs made of beaten earth blend with the landscape. The kitchen, where visitors enter, is circled by small benches made out of earth. A triple oven, with its *magogo* for the cooking of large flat cakes, faces the *methan*, a flat tilted stone with two spouts, one for liquid and another for grain.

Here the FPLE has carried out limited reforms. The land, traditionally collectively owned according to secular custom, was redistributed every three, five or seven years, within the village community or *shumagalle*. Families that had been living in the village for a long time were called *restenya*. The more recently arrived were called *magalai ailet*. Both kinds of families have access to land, with only the *restenya* having a voice in the administration of the village.

But this system of land rotation has been blocked for three decades, and the number of poor peasants obliged to leave the high plateau in search of land has increased. The FPLE has only dispossessed a dozen or so of the large absentee landowners and has tried, through an educational campaign with the interested parties, to redistribute the land more equitably, following tradition as much as possible without creating conflicts.

At least twice their measures were implemented too rapidly and had to be revised by the Front, which afterward became more cautious. The man in charge of this department is the ex-general direc-



Two FPLE militants conducting a dialogue with village residents.

tor of agriculture in Asmara. He reassured us that his veterinary service had vaccinated nearly half a million cattle in Eritrea in the last year.

These villages are protected by a militia and are politically organized in cells of 15 members each. Each cell gives three classes at different levels, and offers a regular course of education. The 20 or so schools of Hamassien serve about 2,000 students. We went to the night classes for adults (of whom a third were women), where writing and political education are being taught. There one finds a lot of peasants who have benefited from the redistribution of land. What do those whose lands have been taken think? What is their influence on the village? We were not to discover the answers to these questions.

The two fronts.

With its organization, its discipline, its ideological cohesion, its economical and trade departments, its workshops and schools, and its hospitals, the FPLE is sketching out the structure of a new state at every level. It controls totally the province of Sahel and exerts considerable pressure on the provinces of the high plateau in the region of Keren and the Red Sea. The Keren-Asmara-Massaoua triangle is one of their strongholds, especially Keren, which is an essential strategic position.

The other big liberation movement, the FLE, controls the provinces of Barka and Gash, with the exception of the towns, and is present in all the other provinces except Sahel. Each of the two Fronts boasts 10-12,000 warriors, with perhaps a slight advantage to the FLE.

The new movement of M. Ousmane Sabbe Saleh (The Front for the Liberation of Eritrea or Popular Force for Liberation) is only active on the frontier with Sudan, at the north of the province of Barka. It is there that they held their first congress in March 1977. The active members of this front do not exceed 2,000 men, recruited from among Eritrean refugees in Sudan, who number officially 100,000, but whose numbers are more likely 150,000.

With strong financial support from Libya and Saudi Arabia, this movement may increase its power and may join the FLE of M.A. Nasser and I. Totil.

Meanwhile, the FPLE of M.I. Afewerki and R. Mohammed Nur, which held its congress in January 1977, looks to the creation of a united front within which each organization would maintain its autonomy. It rejects the unification proposed by the FLE. [Editor's note: This front was formed in late fall 1977, but hostility continues between the two organizations around issues described by Chaliand.]

"one does not die twice."

The problem of unity among the nationalist movements prevails in any internal discussion of the FPLE. During a meeting of 1,000 peasants, representative of 25 villages, which we attended, the dele-

gates stated the negative side, charging that the committee of conciliation elected by the people 15 months ago has noticed the following defects in the FLE: divisions based on tribal and religious problems, importance given to traditional leading citizens, influence peddling, and abusive taxation of peasants. This assembly includes at least 100 women and peasants dressed in their white togas, who harangue the audience as if they were ancient orators.

Some of them complain of having been beaten up by militants of the FLE, who have been charged with trying to dismantle the FPLE's infrastructure at the village level. "I am in favor of unity," says an old man, "but not at any price. The peasants must not be disappointed in this fight. Unity and independence must benefit the people."

A young lady with a rifle in her hand stand up: "Not very long ago, we, the girls, were not allowed to speak, not only in a meeting such as this, but also at home. Now, because of the FPLE, we can do it. We don't want any movement that may throw this equality into doubt again."

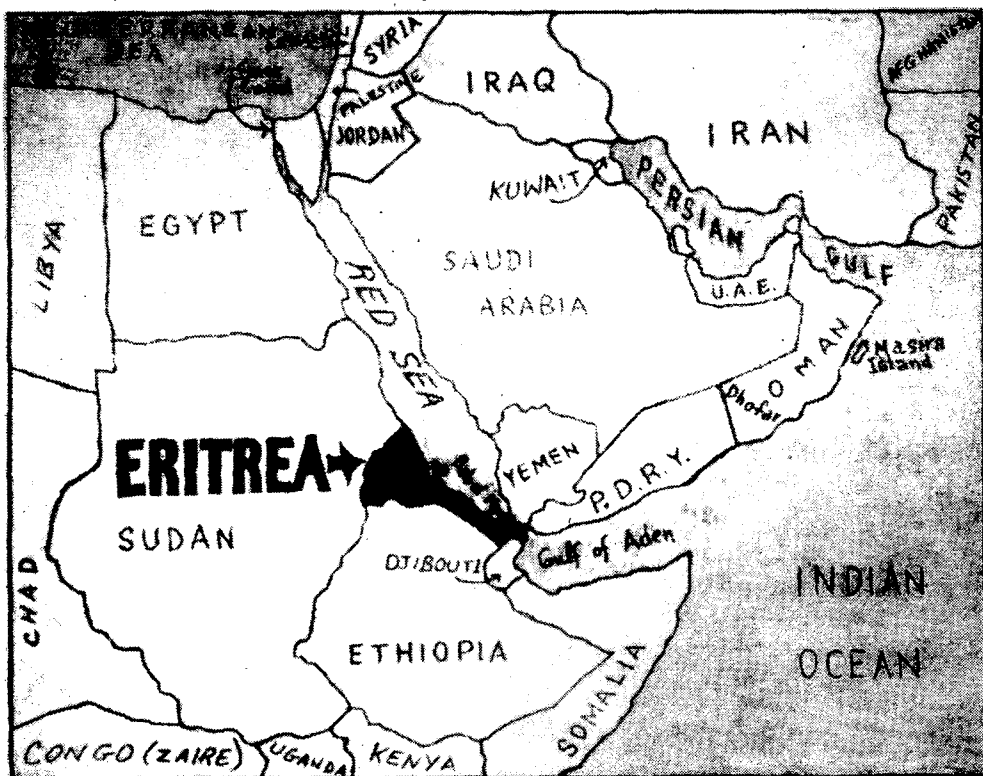
Then it's time for an old priest to speak: "Stand up! Let's support the ones who represent us, these young people, who could have lived an easy life if they had wanted, but who chose instead to risk their lives for us. Don't be afraid, they cannot kill us all, and one does not die twice." After a day and a half of discussion, the meeting is dismissed and long lines of boys and girls file out along the paths.

On our way back we met the leader of the Front, M. Issais Afewerki, who was going to a meeting with the representatives of the FLE in order to arrange a possible unification of the two groups. "Certain Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia," he tells us, "don't like us, and try to discredit us, accusing us of being Christians or Marxists. We want a national democratic revolution without any ethnic or religious discrimination. We want to build an independent nation and a state at the service of the people. We don't want to be anyone's satellite."

By an ironic twist, all too frequent in our modern history, the FPLE, an authentic revolutionary organization that fought yesterday against a state supported by the U.S., now faces a government that claims to be Marxist-Leninist and that is supported by the USSR and Cuba. The discovery of the logic of nation-states, whatever their ideology, is perhaps one of the most painful experiences of all liberation movements.

Ethiopia, with or without its "march of the people," can hardly hope to control Eritrea, where only several principal cities are under its power. On the other hand, the nationalists cannot block the maritime outlet of Assab, which is an easy position to hold. Under these conditions, it would be reasonable to negotiate, but the present Ethiopian government is not the negotiating kind.

Translated by Helene Ilbert and Richard Lindley.



NICARAGUA

Slain editor may undo Somoza's rule

By Blase Bonpane

PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO, editor and owner of *La Prensa*, Nicaragua's only opposition newspaper, died Jan. 9 as a working reporter. In the pocket of his bullet-ridden jacket was an article he had written at home. It was just two months since he received the Maria Moors Cabot award from Columbia University for outstanding news coverage on Latin America and for "journalistic leadership of those forces opposed to tyranny in Nicaragua."

Proportionately speaking, the Nicaraguan people are more disturbed by the death of this courageous journalist than Americans were by the death of John F. Kennedy. For days the Nicaraguan capital of Managua has been paralyzed by a general strike supported by both business and labor.

Opposition leader.

It was not simply a newspaper that led to Chamorro's assassination. He was the head of Nicaragua's conservative party. As an astute politician he set about building a mass coalition in 1972. His unique structure, Union Democratica de Liberacion (UDEL) united most anti-Somoza forces in Nicaragua.

Through careful planning, Chamorro attracted dissidents from the Liberal party, Somoza's own political apparatus. The crafty editor had no trouble in drawing in the Independent Liberal party and the Social Christian party, founded in the '60s and made up of former members of the Conservative party and the Nicaraguan Socialist party.

UDEL generally represents middle and upper class democratic interests. It is not related to the Nicaraguan liberation militia known as the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion, FSLN. But members of Chamorro's coalition are quick to admit that they are relying on the military success



In Managua, Nicaragua, Jan. 12 protests swept the city in advance of the funeral of assassinated editor Pedro Joaquin Chamorro. In back of young men demonstrators is a burning customs house.

of the rebel FSLN as their only hope. Dictator Anastasio Somoza says, "I, like all Nicaraguans, feel great sorrow for the death of Chamorro."

For years the Somoza regime has taught and tolerated the torture and murder of dissidents. In 1977, the Catholic Bishops of Nicaragua accused Somoza's National Guard of "torture, rape and summary execution." Each murder and each use of torture do not require personal approval of the head of state. Some die while "trying to get away." Relatively unknown dissidents are in the most dangerous position.

Chamorro, on the other hand, was an

international figure. It is doubtful that his execution could take place without approval at the top unless the National Guard intended the action as an assertion of new autonomy. Such a case would indicate the advent of a military take-over.

Central American and Caribbean history give us many examples of such murders approved by dictatorial heads of state. In each case the dictators overplayed their power as they began to lose it. And Somoza is losing his power.

A few weeks ago he approved the destruction of a major Nicaraguan cultural center on the island of Solentiname in the Lake of Nicaragua. He could tolerate this

dynamic meeting place for social, political and spiritual change when he was strong. But he refused to bear Solentiname any longer as his regime proceeded in the death process.

The political disintegration of Nicaragua seems to explain the murder of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro. The Somoza dynasty began with treachery in the murder of Gen. Augusto Cesar Sandino in 1934, and now it may be ending in 1978 with the treacherous murder of Chamorro.

Blase A. Bonpane, formerly a Maryknoll priest in Central America, is a professor of political science at California State University, Northridge.

TAIWAN

Student arrests only the beginning

By John Hanrahan

A NEW WAVE OF REPRESSION has hit Taiwan with a number of recent secret arrests and government warnings that writers who "try to spread class hatred" may also soon find themselves imprisoned.

In addition to the publicized arrests in early November of three persons alleged to be members of the underground People's Liberation Front, the regime also in recent weeks has secretly arrested as many as ten other persons.

These reports of additional secret arrests, based on letters sent clandestinely from Taiwan to Taiwanese human rights activists in the U.S., clash sharply with the picture that has recently been presented in major U.S. publications. The *New York Times*, for example, carried a Dec. 4 dispatch from Fox Butterfield in Taipei that stated, in part: "...there is recent evidence in Taiwan that President Carter's well-publicized pronouncements on human rights may have begun to take effect." Butterfield cited as evidence of "the improved atmosphere" on Taiwan some gains that independent candidates made against the ruling Kuomintang party (KMT) in local elections in November.

In the People's Liberation Front case, the government announced Nov. 5 that three persons had been arrested for engaging in communist underground activities and for sending threatening letters to foreign investors in Taiwan. The threaten-

With 8,000 political prisoners, Taiwan is no human rights model. It may get worse.

ing letters, purportedly sent last January to more than 70 U.S., German and Japanese investors, ordered "all foreign imperialists and capitalists" to leave Taiwan by the end of June or face "due punishment." However, June came and went without any incident.

No discussing "toothbrushism."

The government's version of the arrests conjured up visions of a dangerous terrorist organization, but information sent by anti-regime activists in Taiwan and received by their supporters in the U.S. indicates that the PLF threat exists largely in the government's mind.

According to letters received by the Chicago-based Committee to Stop Secret Execution of Political Prisoners in Taiwan, the arrests were designed to affect the local elections held in November as well as to warn students and writers who are following paths deemed dangerous by the government.

A recent letter received from Taiwan by the committee stated that at least five students or recent students, in addition to the three arrested in the PLF case, have been recently imprisoned. One of those

arrested was Tsai Yu-jung, a fourth-year student in the chemical engineering department at Tamchiang College.

Last spring as head of the Current Affairs Research Society at Tamchiang, Tsai had organized a seminar or series of lectures on the topic of Taiwan citizens acquiring property and residences overseas—a practice that has come to be known as "toothbrushism."

"Toothbrushism" refers to KMT officials and rich business people who are believed to have transferred most of their assets from Taiwan to other countries as a precaution against the anticipated day when the U.S. establishes diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and severs its ties with Taiwan. With the rest of their wealth overseas and only their toothbrushes still with them on Taiwan, these people will be able to quickly flee the country.

Initially, the Tamchiang College administration agreed to allow a discussion of the issue but then changed its mind. Tsai Yu-jung reportedly helped initiate a petition drive to protest the decision and sent letters of protest to newspapers, government organizations and others. It was this that apparently brought him to the attention of the regime.

Tsai, as well as the earlier three persons arrested for allegedly being PLF members, was also involved in campaigning for Tsai Hung Ch'iao-wo, a non-aligned politician, in her election race for a provincial assembly seat from the Tai-

Continued on page 18.



Y.C. Chen



T. Wang



T.C. Yu

Horton Hat

By David Moberg

MYLES HORTON, HUNDREDS of miles from his Tennessee highland home, was looking around for the room where he was supposed to speak. "I'll just follow the crowd," he explained with a touch of wry mountain humor, "then sneak up in front when they arrive. That's what leaders always do."

Horton, a lean and vibrant 72-year-old son of Appalachia, should know something about leaders. For the past 45 years he has been, despite all his modesty, a singularly influential leader on his own and an educator of possibly thousands of leaders at all levels of the civil rights, labor and other reform movements of the South. His Highlander Folk School, founded near Monteagle, Tenn., in 1932, has never had more than eight or ten staff but there is hardly a change that has rippled through the South over the past several decades that hasn't been started or bolstered by a Highlander pebble thrown in the pond.

Highlander's success stems partly from Horton's cantankerously democratic insistence that the common people—the textile workers, sharecroppers, miners, rural poor or disenfranchised blacks—are better leaders, organizers and even teachers of each other than any outside experts.

"The way I organize," he explains, "I have people organize themselves. I sit under the tree and read a book or go off and drink beer while they organize. I'm the laziest organizer in the world, but I can get unions where other people can't even get members signed up."

Horton's path to effective but lazy organizing started with a religious training and compassion that was soon directed toward political ends by his teacher, the

theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr. Horton studied sociology at the University of Chicago, but learned more from his extra-curricular reading of Dewey, Marx, Lenin, the utopian socialists and other radical thinkers. Through a minister he met at a church social, he learned of the Danish "folk schools," institutions set up in the late 19th century to preserve Danish culture and to defend small farmers and peasants.

These experiences guided Horton back to the mountains, to Grundy County, Tenn., then one of the 11 poorest counties in the country. He soon discovered that there were numerous strong native leaders who could lead strikes or organize protests.

Horton and his educator friends could provide some technical and legal advice, but mainly they offered a place to meet and a chance for people to share their experience and knowledge. That proved quite revolutionary.

The meetings were especially subversive of the old order of the South since they repeatedly violated Jim Crow laws prohibiting blacks and whites from gathering together. "We were too poor to segregate," he says with typical understatement. "We couldn't afford but one table and one toilet. There was only segregation by who was at the back of the line."

Necessity wrought other progressive steps in running a school, such as Highlander's practice of combining work and education. "A lot of things we did at Highlander was not because of high-minded theories but because of necessity," Horton says, "which is not a bad way to do things. When we started we had no money and had to support ourselves. So we had to work. We thought it was a good idea, but it was also necessity that combined theory and practice."

Highlander's joint meetings of blacks and whites brought down repeated legal attacks, sheriff's raids, Ku Klux Klan marches and cross-burnings, vigilante assaults, destruction of the school by arson and countless diatribes against the school as a haven of Communists.

Yet it brought other results too—the formation of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the start of voter education projects, the first massive literacy campaign among poor blacks, conversion of "Kluxer" agitators into pro-integration union leaders and, not so indirectly, the symbolic event that triggered the civil rights movement: Three months after a session at Highlander, Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus in Birmingham, Ala., sparking the boycott that launched Martin Luther King as the pre-eminent civil rights leader.

HORTON, INFECTIOUSLY JOVIAL and a crafty, genial storyteller, recently told a gathering of alternative school workers about one of the most remarkable experiments in alternative forms of education undertaken in this country.

Always devoted more to "social change in the country, not in the schools," Horton was introduced in 1954 to Esau Jenkins, a black man from the Georgia Sea Islands. While driving other blacks to their daytime jobs as domestics and janitors, Jenkins had tried to teach his bus-riders how to read and write so they could vote and influence local politics. Horton spent a year with Jenkins on John's Island, fishing, working on farms, playing with the kids and learning about the people.

Although there were state-supported literacy projects, Horton concluded that "their whole effort to educate people to read and write was a demeaning program carried on by dominating, opinionated kinds of people that made people feel inferior. So I tried to find the opposite—that would give them dignity, make them feel comfortable. Also, we didn't think it was a literacy program as such but teaching the people to read and write so they could be active citizens."

His first rule, developed during the period of "unlearning" his formal schooling, was that "the people you don't want to run the program are teachers." So they started their Sea Island's "citizenship school class" with 14 adults in the back room of a cooperative store, where they sat around a table rather than cramming themselves into undersized school desks. A black woman from the island was teacher and the first text was the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

"We were starting with the premise that these were adults and deserved the dignity of being challenged by something worthy of them," Horton says. The vast majority stuck with the class, learning in six weeks of meeting two nights a week how to write letters, order from the Sears catalog and pass the voting test.

"It was inspiring to visit," Horton says, "to go to one of those meetings and see these 60-year-old black people who were so used to holding a plow, a hoe or a fishing net that when they held a pencil, they would break it. I said not to worry, just hand them another. There are plenty more."

Within two years hundreds of schools popped up throughout the South. Often students who learned in one citizenship class "certified" themselves as teachers and started another class. The virtually self-perpetuating system was put under SCLC control in 1965.

Getting out of a successful project is typical Highlander behavior. Horton has a dread of becoming institutional. Wearing his t-shirt with the Chinese slogan, "Women hold up half the sky," Horton

and education writer John Holt, playing with his cello in a crowded hallway, were talking about the necessity of constant change. "I think every building and institution should be built so that it automatically self-destructs in 25 years," Horton said. Otherwise the institutional past rules the present.

Predictably Horton was impressed with some of the legacy of the cultural revolution in a recent visit to China. The practice of "implementing the mass line," having discussions of major policy at the commune, factory and neighborhood level, seemed to fit his ideas of adult education. Yet he also discovered that "up to ten years ago the schools in China were pretty bad. In some ways they're still pretty bad. While they talk a good line, they've still got teachers trained in the old way, and they stand up in front of class judgmentally and have students recite."

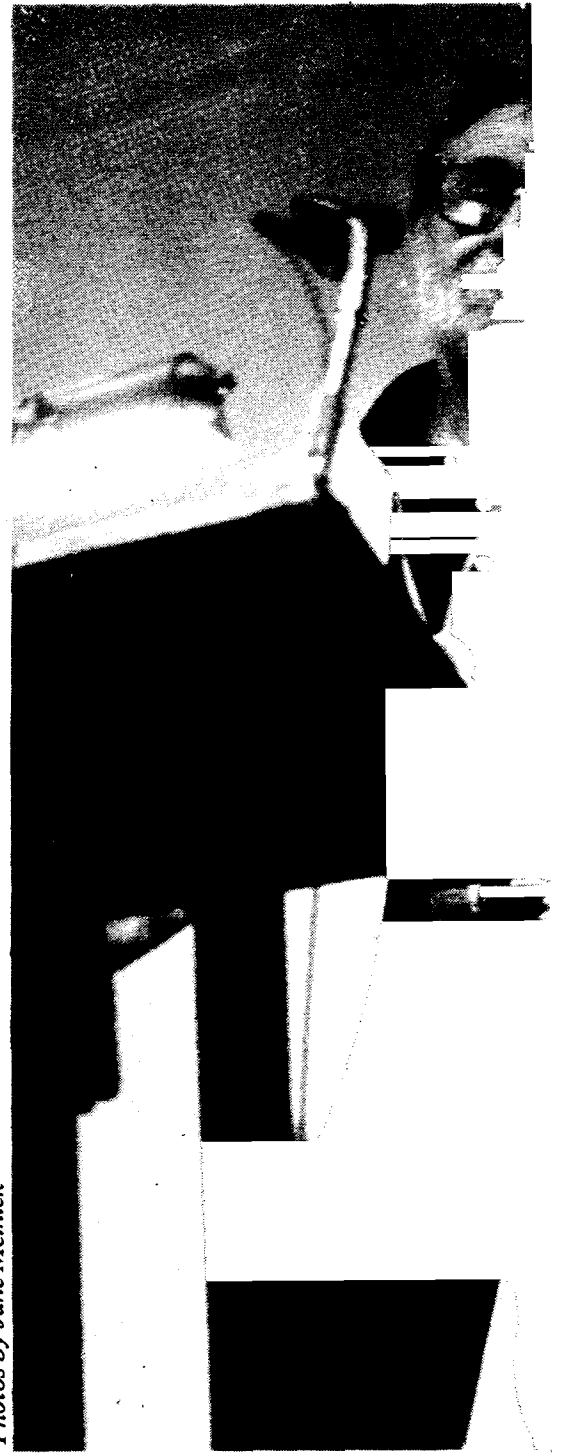
Throughout its many shifts of focus, the teaching style at Highlander, now located at New Market, Tenn., has remained informal, with students teaching students in a group setting. They try to work with a minimum of preconceived formulas about how to organize politically.

At first Highlander was preoccupied with building the CIO, but its emphasis on training leaders at the shop steward level and its openness to leftists during the McCarthy period threatened conservative officials who were consolidating their grasp over the union organization.

Later the civil rights movement was the center of Highlander work.

Now work with Appalachian poor—fighting stripmining, for example—and with activist unions in the South fills the Highlander agenda.

Myles Horton still teaches at Highlander, when he's not consulting with native Americans in the Canadian north or lead-



Photos by Jane Melnick

ches a Hope

ing trips to China or Cuba. Still a dedicated socialist in the purest American grain, Horton recently talked with **IN THESE TIMES** about his experiences over the past four decades:

YOU SAY THAT YOU DON'T really teach organizing. I think it's dangerous to assume that methods that are good for some people are good for all people. If people follow a methodological plan for organizing they'll fall flat on their face. What you've got to do is help people learn to analyze. Then the organizational strategy will grow out of an analysis of that situation. If you only organize by rote and follow rules, then you can only do mediocre organizing in the most mechanical way. You could organize a store to sell peanut butter in that way, however.

A lot of schools are springing up on the model of training professional organizers.

We're more interested in the leadership in the community than the outsider who comes in and organizes. In fact we'd rather he didn't come in. Local people can empower themselves by some commitment and understanding to run their own affairs.

We want to keep decision-making in the community. We'd like to see union organizing done like that, too, from the bottom up instead of the top down.

How do you deal with the need for large-scale organizations?

We think that should grow from local people getting together and pooling ideas. In a crisis situation you can have people who will take orders from somebody at the top but as soon as the crisis is over, then they depend on the people at the top. You do the opposite of empowering people. You make them more powerless.

You've had a chance to observe and take part in movements of alternative education for several decades now. How do you think the current situation compares with past periods?

In the '30s you had people talking about schools changing society, schools as instruments to bring about revolution. The effort wasn't to change schools but to ask how could schools change society. You couldn't change the schools without changing the society. There was an effort within that context to change the schools, the progressive education movement. It asked how are you going to make the schools more child-centered, how you could make people more creative in their individual contributions to society, how to make the system better.

The whole misreading of Dewey and Dewey himself being mixed up led to a rather narrowly conceptualized idea about getting away from an emphasis on subject matter to an emphasis on students.

It was always the teacher doing it. There was never much interest then, as now, in how people learn. It was how you teach. They didn't have much understanding of how you help people learn, which is different from teaching.

The alternative schools are nothing new. But each period has to reinvent, which is a good thing. They think they're the first to start. They know people in the past haven't solved the problem, so they must not be very smart. So they don't want to do anything that people not as smart as they are did.

But don't people end up reinventing the mistakes as well?

Oh, they reproduce all the mistakes. That's why the circle goes round and round instead of up. All the mistakes being made today were made in the '30s. I sat through these mistakes and these discussions then—same issues, same problems, same mistakes—but people don't know they were made and they do them over again. But it's not bad. People learn from their experience and mistakes are part of it.

IT MAY BE TOO MUCH TO SUM UP all of your years of work in a few minutes, but what would you like to pass on to other people? Despite the demands of people who want to treat us as nuts and bolts, those of us interested in human beings and in changing the system should take every opportunity to promote the idea of people learning as a group rather than as individuals. It's not only better education, because kids and people learn from other people at all levels, but also it helps people to understand that they can be brothers and don't have to compete in every facet of life. People should be educated as a group, 'cause that's the way they're going to live, although the system keeps trying to pull them apart.

Another thing it's important to do in alternative schools is to seriously try to understand the society of which we're a part. At the same time—since that's rather depressing—have a vision, a projection of the future society we could have, the kind of qualities—I'm not talking about a blueprint—of life. Let your mind go free: what kind of world would you like to have if you could have the kind of world you'd like to live in?

You said that it's ineffective just to preach about the evils of the present system. What could teachers in public schools do?

You don't just tell students it's bad. You take situations and you start analyzing. Take kids out to see a slum. What do you see? What does this do to people? Why is it? Then you go to a rich person's house and you say, how come this? Why do they live this way and others live as they do? Just show them and ask questions. Pretty soon people say something's

wrong with a society that produces this.

Another thing I'd like to see is a complete change of methods, not only teach people in a group but also break down this barrier between the authoritarian, judgmental teacher and the people and start helping people learn by being learning facilitators and sharing experiences.

I think a teacher can only teach by learning with the students. You teach what you do, not what you say. If you're not learning and if you don't let them see you learning, then you're not teaching them to learn. You're teaching them to listen to a judgmental person tell them something.

In your process of finding out who people are before teaching them, you must find out many things that you don't like, such as that some are strongly racist. How do you deal with that?

In the '30s and '40s when we were working with the CIO, sometimes three or four members of a group of 25 would be members of the Klan, open racists and bigots. None of the white people, including the Kluxers, had ever been in a room socially with black people. At Highlander they ate together, slept together. We controlled that.

We didn't say you have to believe anything when you came but you had to live under certain conditions, which we controlled. We'd plunk people down in the room together. The Kluxer would say I don't believe in this. We said we don't care what he believes. He's doing it and that's more important than anything he believes. It's an experience.

One man came from the Klan in Eldorado, Ark. He was sent there by the Klan to organize a union to take over the CIO oil workers union. Nobody knew it, but before he left he told me why he was there.

He said, "I can't go through with it. Help me figure out what to do when I get back."

That man, Bill Moore, was the director of the CIO in Arkansas when the schools were integrated. He led the march to open up the schools of Little Rock. He came to Highlander as a Kluxer ten years before. I'd say people who came as Kluxers turned out about as well as people who didn't.

How do you feel about the prospects for socialism in this country?

I shared the romantic, naive hope of the early '30s that we'd have some form of socialism in our lifetime. Circumstances changed. Capitalists are smart people, you know.

All the radical movements and parties made the same mistakes. They thought the intellectuals primarily located in metropolitan centers and their ideas would be so attractive that people they couldn't talk to or wouldn't want to deal with would automatically walk under the banner of socialism. I split very early with these political organizations.

There was a lot of inbreeding and narrowness that resulted in trying to be purer, getting socialist thinking so esoteric that it could only be understood by the insiders. Also socialists wouldn't have anything to do with anybody but socialists and Communists wouldn't have anything to do with anybody but Communists and there were so few of them that they canceled each other out.

I got out of that damn business. I had no patience with that stuff. I believe in involving the masses of people. If they don't learn about socialism, we'll never have it.

I was always for hitting it head on, using the word socialism instead of talking about camouflages. Working and poor people are capable of a lot more than people think. ■



IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Look who is Kissinger now

Only last October, National Security Affairs adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski reiterated President Carter's campaign statement that the government would not engage in public statements to prevent communist parties from entering western European governments. Nevertheless, last month even before Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti's minority Christian Democratic cabinet resigned, the State department in a statement revised by the White House to make it stronger, did what Carter and Brzezinski said they would not do and what they had criticized Henry Kissinger and President Ford for doing. It publicly put the government on record against the participation of the Italian Communist party (PCI) in the Italian government and, for good measure, against "Communist influence" in Western Europe.

Carter's reversal indicates his administration's adherence to the bi-partisan foreign policy consensus that emerged with Kissinger and the Nixon administration. For all the public aplomb with which Brzezinski had in the past treated the prospect of PCI inclusion in the Italian government, it is Kissinger's position that underlies current policy. Kissinger outlined that position last June 9 in an address to the Conference on Italy and Eurocommunism in Washington. It centers upon what it takes to be two fundamental consequences of PCI accession to government.

1) It would begin the process of disintegration of NATO and the Atlantic Alliance. NATO would come apart not because the PCI would take Italy out of it, but because the U.S. would be reluctant to share military technology and planning with a government that includes Communists, no less to deploy troops in Europe to protect a socialist society. All the more so if the Italian example should spread to France. The PCI is in favor of the eventual dissolution of military blocs in Europe. But from the American government's standpoint NATO's objective has always been not only to counter Soviet power in Europe but also to protect capitalism in western Europe.

The Atlantic alliance is predicated on common capitalist international objectives and on the division of Europe into a capitalist West and a socialist East. The PCI's outlook, which would gain in strength in western Europe with its accession to government, is to achieve a socialist Europe that overcomes the East-West division and that emerges as a "third force" in the world, independent of American power and treating equally, on socialist terms, with the Soviet Union.

2) A socialist Italy would begin the process of changing the nature of the political and economic role of the European Economic Community (Common Market) in world affairs, especially its role in "defending Western interests" (in Kissinger's words) in the developing countries.

For example, as Kissinger notes, a socialist France could not be relied upon to repeat President Giscard's intervention against revolution in Zaire. "In the Middle East, in southern Africa, in relations with the third world..." Kissinger states, "the parallelism of views that has existed between the United States and its European allies would almost certainly be eroded." Western Europe would move "closer to the so-called non-aligned bloc," on questions of "the world economy," and "toward the more extreme of the Third World's demands for a 'new international economic order.'" Instead of being a bulwark of international capital-

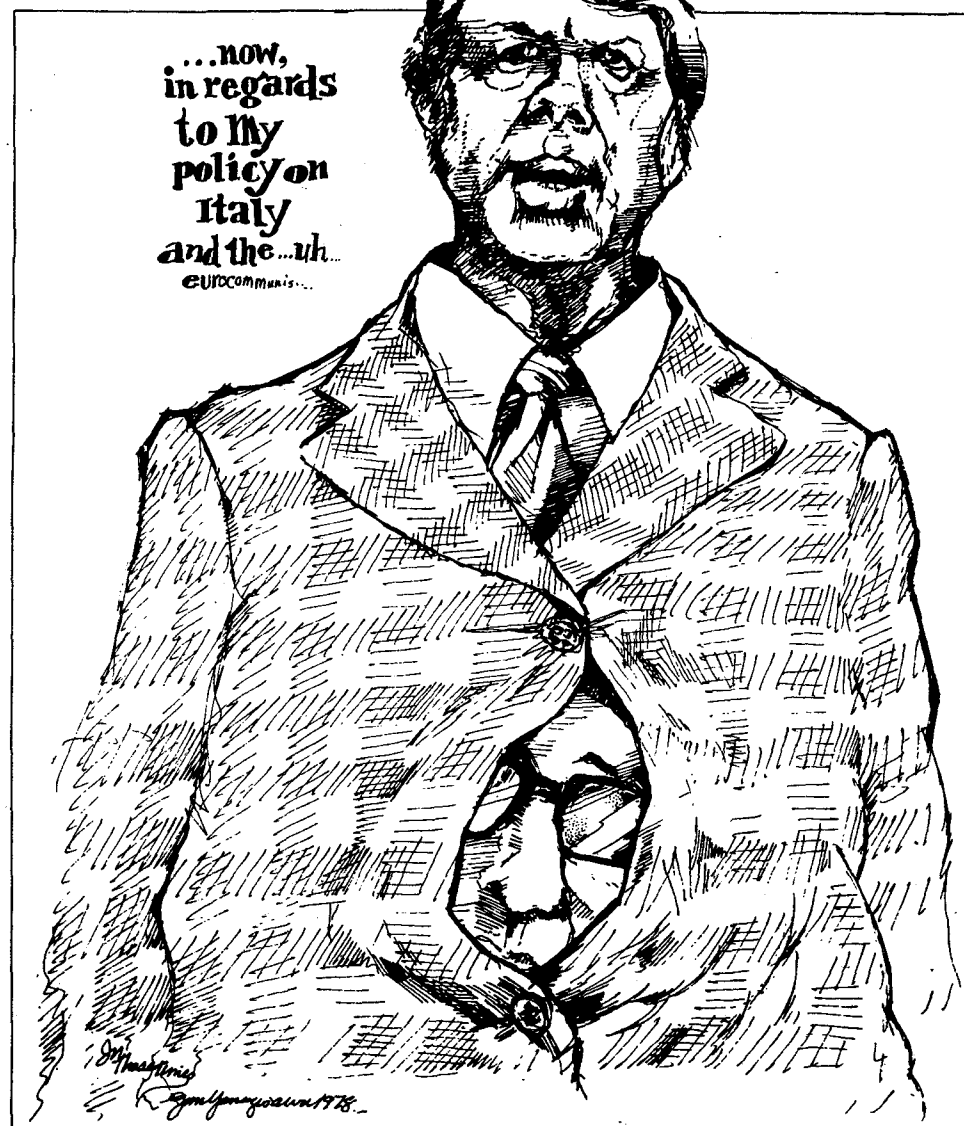
Carter's reversal indicates his adherence to the Kissinger-Nixon bipartisan foreign policy. For all the public aplomb with which Brzezinski had treated the prospect of Communist inclusion in the Italian government, Kissinger's policy is still being followed.

ism, western Europe would become a decisive force in shifting the world balance of power toward international socialism.

In short, the structure of post-World War II world politics would come to an end. That structure has rested upon an American economic, political, and military supremacy in which capitalism has been identified with the "West" and socialism with the "East." Rising Soviet military and economic power, though depriving the U.S. of the unequalled global power it once enjoyed, did not fundamentally challenge that structure. Rather it formed the basis of its evolution from "confrontation" to "detente." But a socialist western Europe would mark the end of the old world order and the birth of a new one.

This, rather than the inspiring verbiage about democratic values, lies at the heart of the matter. Indeed, Kissinger and his colleagues appear to be as annoyed as the Soviet leaders at the PCI's commitment to the basic tenets of traditional western democratic principles.

The present Soviet leadership seems to share the American corporate leadership's



discomfort with the prospects of a new world political structure. But as Kissinger admonishes, though western European socialism would create problems for the Soviet Union at home and in eastern Europe, it "would pose far more serious problems for the West."

The Carter administration's decision to continue past American policy of intervening in the internal politics of western Europe, Italy's in this case, indicates that its outlook is little different from that of its predecessor. The difference between Brzezinski and Kissinger, apparently goes no farther—if we can take Brzezinski's word for it—than that Brzezinski is a colleague and Kissinger a protege of Rockefeller (i.e., Corporate Power).

Carter's "new agenda for democracy" speech in Paris last month was less a "new agenda" than an old rallying of status-quo forces against revolution. In intent, it bears a striking resemblance to Wilson's Fourteen Points address in 1918. Just as that earlier statement came in large part as a response to the revolutionary challenge thrown down by Lenin, so this one is a response to the revolutionary

challenge of Eurocommunism.

But as Kissinger should know from his scholarly studies, the "world order" that came out of World War II can be no more permanent than that which came out of the Napoleonic wars at the Congress of Vienna. It is already breaking up. Its demise is in large part due to the growing conviction among people in the "West" that democratic aspirations can best be served by moving from capitalism to socialism. The American corporate rulers know that the old order is passing, but have no taste for the new and, apparently, no policy other than bullying and coercion for dealing with it.

Though Carter acknowledged in his Paris speech that "no nation or even a small group of nations can any longer shape" the international order, his response to the Italian situation indicates the inability to recast policy in the light of that acknowledgement. It represents not an attempt at adjusting to a new world order with a real "new agenda," based on respect for self-determination and international pluralism, but an attempt at shoring up the old.

Son of S-1 sneaks through Senate

Sometimes called "the world's greatest deliberative body," the Senate by a 72-15 vote passed the Criminal Code Reform bill (S-1437) on Jan. 30 with little debate. The most deliberative aspect of the bill's passage was its sponsors' strategy of slipping it quietly past the Senate.

After meeting around New Year's day with Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), senior Republican on the Senate Judiciary committee which reported the bill, Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) set the bill as the first item of business in the new session. Neither he, Thurmond nor Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), the bill's floor manager, informed other Senators of the priority accorded the bill until three days before the Senate reconvened.

The debate, which began Jan. 19, "caught many Senators off guard," reports the *Congressional Quarterly* (Jan. 21), "which apparently was what the sponsors of the bill intended." An aide to Sen. Thurmond boasted that "by not making an announcement we felt we could

cut off a lot of outside interest group opposition." It also cut off intelligent deliberation by those "inside" the Senate, as indicated by the paucity of amendments offered on the floor in spite of the bill's controversial nature.

Conservative Senator James B. Allen (D-Ala.) may have exaggerated, though not by much, in saying, "There aren't five senators there who have any idea what's going on." But Sen. Robert Morgan (D-N.C.) can be credited with a resigned objectivity in expressing the hope that Senate approval might at least lead to public scrutiny and debate in the House.

Though the bill includes many improvements in the federal criminal law in the areas of sedition (repeal of the Smith Act), rape, press freedom, and civil rights, it also retains or creates law that, as the ACLU rightly states, represents a "dangerous compromise of civil liberties." Among other things, it retains the drag-net character of the conspiracy laws, widens the scope of laws repressing anti-military activity, broadens the authority of

government officials and police agents, and creates new law against obstructing government functions that could cover, in the ACLU's words, "virtually every strike, picketing activity or mass demonstration at or near a federal facility." (For details, see *ITT*, July 20, Nov. 2, 1977, and editorial Aug. 10, 1977.)

It remains for the House to exercise its deliberative function. House members should be reminded that Americans can make little pretense to being a self-governing people if the national criminal law that affects everybody's liberties and obligations is established behind the backs of their elected representatives and without full exposure to public opinion.

The procedure in the Senate, as well as the oppressive features still embraced by the bill, belie President Carter's claim in his Paris address last month that "There is one belief above all others that has made us what we are... that the rights of the individual stand higher than the claims of the state." Or was that address not meant for home consumption? ■

Letters

Lay off Helmut, Diane

NEEED SOMETHING TO MAKE your next party exciting? Then get hip to Diana Johnstone and tune in to the latest buzzword of the European avant garde, "Germanization" (ITT, Jan. 25).

What is it? Well, that's not entirely clear, since according to Johnstone it hasn't actually happened in Germany yet. But whatever it is, it bears a striking resemblance to that stalking horse of the '60s, "repressive tolerance," which was used to justify a multitude of follies.

In this case the folly is terrorism. Not that Johnstone is willing to make an overt justification of terrorism. She is hardly so gauche. Rather she confines herself to discussing political failings (moral considerations never enter into her critique), while providing a thinly veiled contextual justification. Terror, she suggests, is the product of a German cultural environment in which (her statistics) half the men beat their wives.

The logic of her connection may seem obscure, the barbarity of wife-beating being so wide-spread, but what is not obscure is Johnstone's concern with her political pedigree. She invokes jailed RAF lawyer Manier to tell us of the political failings of terrorism, as if those failings weren't long obvious to non-terrorists. Her approach is redolent of those who knew Stalin was a bad man only after '55 when he was denounced by Khrushchev.

Johnstone would have done better to come to grips with German civil society. Then she could have avoided giving the impression (which surely she knew to be false) that the lack of organized left opposition to Helmut Schmidt is simply a product of suppression aimed at stilling the moral outcries of the likes of Ulrike Meinhof—a woman whose moral chastity was vouched for by her compatriots, who fire-bombed a synagogue to show that they had gotten over "the Jewish thing" and were ready to do what had to be done. Like Johnstone, I don't doubt their "courage."

—Fred Siegel
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Pleasure into dismay

I WAS PLEASED TO SEE TWO full pages devoted to coverage of Puerto Rico (ITT, Jan. 25). But my pleasure turned to dismay and anger as I read the lead story which dismissed independence as an alternative for the island's future because "people ravaged by poverty" fear an "economic disaster."

James Dietz fails to show how inde-

pendence could bring a worse disaster than the present "commonwealth" (read colony) status or the statehood "solution." Dietz himself shows that the current 40 percent unemployment rate would climb drastically if federal taxes become applicable on the island. By reporting the comments of pro-commonwealth and statehood elements without discussing the views of *independistas* concerning the pro-statehood congressional report, Dietz appears to reject the latter group as insignificant. Nor did the two accompanying articles fill the gap.

The article on reverse migration back to Puerto Rico neglected to examine the impact of these returnees on the employment situation and political scene. Did unemployment and police repression in the Puerto Rican community in the States have anything to do with their return?

How did the discovery of a striking utility worker beneath a toppled transmission power post damage the union's position in the public eye?

The left press needs to cover Puerto Rico more. Your spread left more questions unresolved than it answered, and dismissed the most serious questions of all—indpendence as a political alternative!

—Elissa Janes
Madison, Wisc.

There are ways and ways

G. WILLIAM DOMHOFF MAY be right when he characterizes the Democratic party as "a coalition of blue-collar workers, middle-income liberals, and minorities" (ITT, Jan. 18), but I am amazed to find him characterizing the leadership as "more moderate and progressive elements of the capitalist class."

The Carter administration is showing us right now how "moderate and progressive elements" are used as window dressing for the blue collar workers and minorities but given no recognition on their programmatic demands.

Whatever happened to Domhoff's question, Who Rules America?

Domhoff remembers that Upton Sinclair, running as a Democrat, gave the election to a Republican but forced him left. He remembers that Henry Wallace, running third party, was a "disaster" to the left and also the trade union movement. Does he remember that Wallace forced Truman way to the left of where Truman started?

Indeed, there are ways of being Democrats that lead to a loss of socialist perspective.

—Maggie Feigin
Los Angeles

Close encounter with cultists

I'D LIKE TO REBUT BOBBY NEL-son's long ad for *Close Encounters* (ITT, Feb. 1).

The film may portray and dramatize, but it *doesn't* "explore questions of ex-

traterrestrial intelligence that merit serious discussion." Nor is it uniquely non-violent, peaceful, humanistic, exciting, or serious. What *is* unique is its connection with the UFO cult of believers who evidently get emotional kicks out of disregarding scientific objectivity.

Many, many, if not all science fiction stories make the assumption of extraterrestrial life—certainly *Star Wars* does! But we don't have to honor the peculiar prophets of extraterrestrial life made up by the UFO cult.

Even if it takes the form of "a 40-minute special effects spectacular portraying...a spirit of a cosmic UN."

—William J. Mechem
Chemical Engineering Division
Argonne National Laboratory

Nuclear war just won't work

SIDNEY LENS' ACCOUNT OF THE coming ability of the Pentagon to wipe out the Soviet Union by a first strike made credible by a guidance system that accurately seeks, finds and destroys Soviet nuclear submarines, presupposes that this would be to the advantage of American capitalism. But let's see:

- Has the Pentagon also found a secret way to isolate capitalist west Europe, the Mideast and Japan from effects of the incineration of Russia?

- Will the American people accept the blast-death of 20 million of their own people to say nothing of the poisons released on their crops and drinking water?

- How will the Pentagon control the panic situation resulting from the news of nuclear war?

- How will the rest of the world accept the destruction of such a large part of the world in order to save capitalism? Will they accept the results?

- Will the Pentagon be able to control world populations in the aftermath of this world tragedy?

It boils down to this then: Nuclear war is no war at all, and it benefits no one—not even the victor.

What a disappointment to militarists and their natural allies, the money-changers. The brave new world has outdated war, but the Pentagon hasn't come around to accepting it yet.

Oh, if the Soviet Union was on another planet. How jolly it would be!

—Haig Minasian
Miami, Fla.

Hey, good looking!

ITT IS A THOUGHTFUL, ALERT, responsive, objective—in its writing if not in its choice of coverage—interesting and stimulating. It is also the single best *looking* newspaper I have ever seen, and perhaps that's why I look forward to reading it cover to cover each week.

Who says a paper must write a lot about sex and violence to increase readership? Who besides Rupert Murdoch, that is.

—Robert Polner
Great Neck, N.Y.

Socialist baseball

IS IT REALLY SOCIALIST WHEN the city council of Visalia, Calif. (ITT, Jan. 18) agrees to pay travel and equipment expenses for a Minnesota Twins farm team? It sounds more like a good deal for a capitalist firm, the Minnesota Twins, who are now supplied with a pool of talent without having to pay for it. Socialism requires more than changing the paper ownership of the company or team.

But we need not despair. Baseball, being a capitalist industry, includes struggles against capitalism. For over three decades before the formation of the National League in 1876, players owned their own teams. In 1884, the reserve clause was instituted because players "leap-frogged" their salaries by jumping between the competing American and National Leagues. Later in the 19th century players formed the Brotherhood of Professional Players during a battle

with the owners over an attempt at Taylorism—the owners tried to set up an "A" through "E" pay scale. Finally we all know about the players' organizations of the 1970s that have succeeded in at least partially defeating the reserve clause.

These struggles are, to me, more indicative of the struggle for socialism than state "socialist" efforts to prop up a failing business.

Mark Maier
New York

Fager defends himself

IN THEIR RUSH TO BRAND ME AN unprincipled scab and the San Francisco *Bay Guardian* the "J.P. Stevens of alternative journalism" (ITT, Jan. 11), Eve Peil and Anita Frankel stumpled over several points of fact. Let me cite four: the strike they were "exposing" never involved a majority of the *Bay Guardian* staff; it lasted eight months, not 18; it occurred in 1976-77, not 1975-76; and the *Bay Guardian* has never attained even a modest financial prosperity—it has hung on for 11 years tenaciously, but not profitably.

These items are important not so much in themselves as for what they imply: The *Bay Guardian* strike was a complicated affair, easy to distort into a simplistic good-guys/bad-guys perspective. As I lived through it, however, the strike was a small-scale tragedy that pitted reasonable, progressive people against each other in a situation from which no one emerged unscathed.

I was one of those people. A freelancer ineligible for union membership, I nonetheless respected the picket lines for three weeks while weighing the issues involved. Despite all the barbs about the paper being rigidly anti-union, most basic items had been agreed to; the key difference was over the paper's use of freelancers. Here, I found to my initial chagrin that I agreed more with management than I did with the strikers. I hoped a settlement would relieve me of having to act on my convictions by crossing a picket line for the first time in my life. But no such luck; the time came soon enough to put up or shut up, and I put up.

In the end, the unions were decertified following a worker-initiated NLRB-supervised election in which strikers were eligible to vote, by a tally of 33 to zero which should speak for itself. I have no regrets about the stand I took.

I am now National Correspondent for the *Bay Guardian*. In 1972 I was president of the Phoenix Employees Union in Cambridge, Mass., when that union successfully struck against the newspaper's publisher.

—Chuck Fager
Arlington, Va.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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In the Vaudeville days it was always the craze
to beat one another with a dried pig's bladder,
For it made so much noise among all the boys,
That the audience roared as the actors got madder.

Soon our enemies found, a method so profound,
To break up and cleft all those of us on the Left,
Buying each of us a pig bladder, and getting us madder,
And encouraging us to beat one another to Death.

So today all the Left, from practices deft,
Still hammer away on each other and say,
"You're too far to the Right, get out o' my sight!"
Or, "Take that, you Commy! I'm twice as funny!"

So we strike and we hit, as we each do our bit,
To entertain those who laugh at our shit,
And divided we stand, each woman and man,
In a Pig Bladder War in our Capitalist Land!

—Frank, The Trucker
Denver, Colo.

Roberta Lynch

As much a matter of principles as of power

A socialist revolution is made not only by those who actually carry its banner. It is also the product of the small acts of hundreds of thousands multiplied many times over. It belongs to the perhaps millions of people who do not think of themselves as making a revolution, but simply as doing what is necessary to preserve a measure of human dignity. It is born not just in its slogans or its program, but also in its vision and its spirit. It is as much a matter of principles as of power.

The strength of any socialist movement depends on its ability to hold these elements—a moral ethos and political realism—in balance, sometimes emphasizing one over the other, but always seeking to unify them. Yet as we have moved through the 1970s—almost directly in proportion to its declining ability to have an impact on national policy or popular protest—the non-sectarian left has become increasingly preoccupied with questions of effectiveness, to the exclusion of all else.

Much of this concern with political power is valuable—a much-needed corrective to the lack of thoughtful and directed activity that characterized parts of the movements of the '60s. But in the process of seeking to overcome past errors, some of the elements most vital to our movement have been lost—or at least misplaced.

As *realpolitik* becomes the *sine qua non* of politics, important aspects of the positive heritage of the civil rights movement and the women's movement are in danger of being forgotten. The movement today is missing the kind of moral vision that enabled the early civil rights

efforts to inspire millions. And many of its members have yet to integrate the feminist perspective on the necessity of transforming human relationships, as well as economic ones.

Political purity or moral superiority are not at issue, but whether we can develop an alternative social vision that springs from the experiences of working class people, women, and minorities—that really has at its heart both material needs and the less tangible hunger for meaning that gnaws at us all.

I was reminded of this in reading Alice Walker's latest novel, *Meridian*. Walker has written several other books, and her writing is particularly important for us as a movement that has not yet found its heart. In order to maintain that essential balance, we need the insights into human beings and into American reality—in this case, particularly black American reality—that a writer of Walker's gifts provides.

In all of her works there is a certain facing down of that reality, a refusal to be intimidated by it. There is the commonplace of horror. It is the stuff of daily life: the dreams not simply deferred but distorted beyond recognition; the hatred of oppression that cannot be expressed twisted into hatred of sisters and brothers; the slow, imperceptible growth of malignancies that eat at the soul.

But Walker's writing shines with a fierce humanism as well—the conviction that in exposing the horror there is also brought to light the great courage that is required just to go on living one day after the other; the extraordinary resources possessed by the most "ordinary" of people;

the capacity not only for love (which is so often selfish) but for generosity in the meanest of situations.

Although she is not a polemical writer, Walker is in her own way intensely political. She demonstrates constantly and concretely the ways that racism shapes and deforms the lives of her characters, as when she writes of a father who murders his daughter: "In a world where innocence and guilt became further complicated by questions of color and race, he felt hesitant and weary as though all the world were out to trick him."

Nor does Walker need an intricate analysis to show that this oppression is systemic. It is all there in the day-to-day degradation of blacks, in the casual and even unspoken contempt from whites, and in the social and economic arrangements that encompass them.

Alice Walker writes as well of women—their oppression and their strength. *Meridian* puts to shame many of the "liberated women" novels of white writers that focus only on sexual gratification and self-fulfillment. It presents instead a woman whose identity grows from an insistence on her own integrity and from her deep commitment to others.

Walker understands painfully well the destructive interaction of racism and sexism—and the ways in which it particularly brutalizes black women. Here is one of the men in her novel, *The Third Life of Grange Copeland*: "If he had done any of it himself, he might not have resisted the comfort...with all his heart. As it was, he could not seem to give up his bitterness against his wife, who had proved herself smarter...than he, and he com-

plained...often and loudly, secretly savoring thoughts of how his wife would 'come down' when he placed her once more in a shack."

Yet for all her grasp of the parameters set by oppression, Walker does not allow her characters to escape responsibility for their own actions. As Grange Copeland tells his son: "I know the danger of putting all the blame on somebody else for the mess that you make of your life... You gits just as weak as water, no feeling of doing nothing yourself. Then you begins to think up evil and begins to destroy everybody around you, and you blames it on the crackers. Shit! Nobody's as powerful as we make them out to be. We got our own souls don't we?"

It is this sense that "we got our own souls" that keeps hope alive. And it is Walker's ability to maintain this hope while looking the harshest realities in the eye that gives her work its best political sensibility. Near the novel's conclusion, *Meridian* sums up this refusal to succumb to despair: "Perhaps it will be my part to walk behind the real revolutionaries...and sing...songs they will need once more to hear. For it is the song of the people, transformed by the experiences of each generation, that holds them together, and if any part of it is lost the people suffer and are without soul."

I hope she's wrong about walking behind. Any socialist movement that grows up needs the Meridians in its ranks, because—like Alice Walker herself—they help it to discover its own soul.

Roberta Lynch is a member of the National Committee of the New American Movement.



Stanley Aronowitz

Art for art's sake is a plea to be free of the market

Hans Koning's admirable statement that politics and art are indissolubly linked (*ITT*, Dec. 21, 1977) sadly approaches the problem in a one-sided way. For Koning, the commitment of the writer to politics is a matter of moral responsibility rather than being a part of the very essence of the art. In condemning such doctrines as "art for art's sake" Koning has mistaken the *demand* for art's autonomy from politics for the reality. For literature cannot separate itself from political influences even if the writer disclaims interest in political issues.

Koning has failed to come to grips with the historical roots of the feigned indifference of the artist to political concerns. Most artists confront social and political determinations as a form of oppression, for politics intrudes as a limit on their ability to produce art freely.

At its most elementary level, the agony of the artist in capitalist society begins with the almost inevitable transformation of all cultural production into commodities. The literary, graphics and music marketplaces, dominated by big corporations and their charitable foundations impose a considerable censorship upon both the form and content of the arts. "Art for art's sake" is the plea of the controlled artist to be free of the commodity form which, beyond the debates within the art world itself, constitutes the social and political constraint upon artistic production.

But the demand for political freedom for the artist is opposed in the so-called socialist countries by an instrumental view of art. That is, the state requires the artist to serve, not as a matter of choice,

but as a matter of command. Of course, the artists may refuse political commitment that conforms, more or less, to the line of the party. But they are also free, under such circumstances, to abstain from the public sphere. For if the artist refuses to heed the political call of the party leadership, the alternatives boil down to other work besides art, or exile. Which is not to deny that many important works of art have been produced under the repressive conditions of Soviet conformity since 1930. Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Sholokov and, of course, Solzhenitsyn are among those who, despite frequent disputes with the party's cultural apparatus, managed to produce quite good art.

The problem with Koning's invocation of Brecht to support the argument that politically committed art is a duty, not just desirable, is that he forgets that Brecht kept his money in a Swiss bank even while living in East Germany and enjoying prestige and fame in the Socialist world. The relation of the intellectuals, including artists, to politics has always been uneasy. From the time of Galileo in modern times (brilliantly portrayed by Brecht himself) to the present, the intellectual has had to face the intrusion of politics as a repressive force as much as deciding whether to become committed to politics. For ruling classes and groups have never trusted intellectuals, even when they have been bought and paid for. As Hans Magnus Enzensberger has pointed out, both the U.S. and the eastern European countries have too often employed poets to write patriotic hymns

or, it may be added, to help sell war bonds. But the role of art as critique of society need not take the form of politically committed work. In some instances formal innovations may themselves constitute a critique of the demands of the majority of ruling classes and their retainers for maudlin, sentimental art that portrays the world as harmonious, that strictly excludes a suggestion of dissonance. Thus, Samuel Beckett, Arnold Schoenberg, the early Bob Dylan, some of the Rolling Stones and the Beatles have, at various moments, made their alienation from the dominant forms of artistic expression known in many ways that are not directly political.

Political art, despite its intentions, may be conformist if it does not address the problem of the narrowing of the universe of sensibility that has invaded most audiences. In modern capitalism, the tolerance for forms of artistic expression that are not familiar, especially in music and painting, is so low that those artists who dare to turn their backs on conventional art risk starvation if they persist.

John Updike and Norman Mailer may not be taken as representative writers among those who profess indifference to public events. Both are successful writers of the marketplace. The issue is better stated with reference to the mass of artists who never make it, who support themselves, at best, as copywriters and illustrators for ad agencies, or worse, by writing porno under assumed names hoping to get their more serious work published or performed by reputable organizations. Their attempt to escape the iron

laws of the literary fleshpots drives them toward a kind of protest that proclaims the private sphere to be sublime. Rather than admonishing these people to become politically engaged, it would be better to examine the role of the left with respect to the arts.

The history of left relations to artists is littered with dogmatism and self-righteous attacks on those who fail to sign petitions or to conform to Marxist codes. Only a few left critics, notably some like Georg Lukacs and Herbert Marcuse, have recognized that in a society marked by growing bureaucratization of the arts and by their degradation into canons determined by exchange value, the forms of protest against domination may be varied and deserve the support of the left, even if they do not take political expression. Further, it may be that the best art is produced, not only by those artists who see themselves as engaged, but also by those who refuse to engage themselves with the canon as determined by critics, parties and buyers.

I believe that it is only when the socialist left can come to terms with its own history in relation to the arts and with the multiple ways that artists seek to emancipate themselves from all forms of domination, including political domination, that it can successfully persuade artists that political commitment may not entail enslavement.

Stanley Aronowitz is Professor of Comparative Culture in the Social Studies School, University of California, Irvine, and author of *False Promises and Food, Shelter and the American Dream*.



PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

THIS IS ONE IN AN IRREGULAR SERIES OF ARTICLES THAT WILL PRESENT the political perspectives of various activists, members of socialist and non-socialist left organizations, and other political thinkers. The first piece was an argument that socialists should be active within the Democratic party as socialists, by G. William Domhoff, author of *Who Rules America* and *Fat Cats and Democrats* (ITT, Jan. 18). Derek Shearer is on the steering committee of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policy, and a West Coast editor of *Working Papers for a New Society*.

If, like Thomas Jefferson, the editors of *IN THESE TIMES* or the leadership of most left groups were compelled to enumerate their grievances, it would not be difficult. What's wrong with America is obvious to any sensitive person who reads the newspapers, watches TV or lives in a big city. American social problems have been amply documented by Nader's raiders, Congressional hearings, muckrakers and revisionist academics.

It is much harder to say what you are for—and to do so in language and with examples that can be understood by the majority of Americans.

ITT's editors, members of the New American Movement and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, as well as other left groups, think the word "socialism" is an answer to the question. Being a politician more than anything else, I think they are out of touch with political reality. While the use of the word socialism might have some positive (though contested) meaning to a minuscule percentage of the population, to most Americans it has a negative connotation. It signifies, at worst, government dictatorship and lack of freedom—Russia, China, Eastern Europe; and, at best, it means bureaucracy and the welfare state—England, Sweden, etc.

Socialism has a bad name in America, and no amount of political education or wishful thinking on the part of the left is going to change that in our lifetimes.

Using the word socialism is not only a hindrance to engaging in politics—community and union organizing, as well as

electoral. It also frequently blocks creative answers to the question of what we are for.

The words Economic Democracy are an adequate and effective replacement. I admit to bias in the matter. I coined (or rather revived) the phrase during the Hayden campaign in 1976. The concept and the program we put forward developed out of years of study and work as a consultant to the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives, as an advisor for Jerry Brown's administration in California, as a teacher in political economy at the Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School, and as an editor of *Working Papers for a New Society*.

Using an eclectic and typically American approach, I borrowed ideas from Franklin Roosevelt's 1944 speech to Congress calling for an Economic Bill of Rights, from a host of New Deal economists, from Upton Sinclair's EPIC movement, from the coop movement, and from the movement for workers ownership and control in Western Europe. My intellectual mentors included such economists as John Blair, former staff director for the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee and author of *Economic Concentration* and *The Roots of Inflation*; Gen Seligman, who wrote *Economics of Dissent*, and Bertram Gross, drafter of the Employment Act of 1946, initiator of the original version of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill and author of *Whose Great Society?*

During the Hayden campaign, we received favorable response to the concept of economic democracy from a wide var-

ity of audiences—working class, middle class, blacks, chicanos, students, women. The same thing happened in Ruth Yannatta's campaign for the state assembly.

Of course, a phrase has no political meaning if not backed up by a transitional political program that can be described in detail, and be carried out by left activists at all levels of government and institutions of society. During the 1976 elections we put together a special issue of *Working Papers* titled "Left with the Democrats?" which included articles on energy, full employment, economic planning, and what a new New Deal might look like. The Institute for Policy Studies, a leftwing think tank in Washington, D.C., has just completed a set of alternative national policy papers, written at the request of Rep. Ron Dellums, John Conyers, and others. The Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives has published studies on national food policy, environmental protection, coops, citizen access to government, full employment, and capital and community development.

Programs for city and state governments have been developed and published by the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policy.

We have a vision of a democratic economy, and we have more than enough program expressed in bills and administrative form. The strategy that is emerging for realizing the vision and winning the program has three major components:

• **Electoral**—Leftwing candidates have won city council seats, state legislative races, and county supervisor posts, as well as other spots. The left has developed the skills to win elections, and we are developing public spokespeople who hold public office. Most of these people operate within the Democratic party.

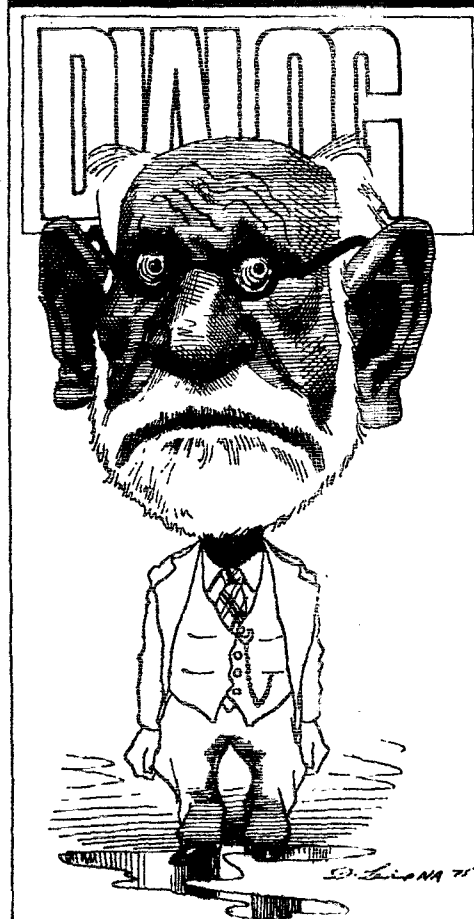
• **Organizational**—City and statewide organizations are being built around economic issues. They include such organizations as Arkansas' ACORN, Mass Fair Share in Massachusetts, the Campaign for Economic Democracy in California, and the Ohio Public Interest Campaign. Some

of the groups run candidates. Others limit themselves to lobbying for specific legislation. They have differing strategies, given the states they're in, but all are concentrating on economic issues from an anti-corporate perspective. Schools such as the Midwest Academy in Chicago run courses and workshops in organizing skills for these state and local organizations.

• **Institutional**—Alongside the electoral and the organizing networks there is a growing network of alternative institutions that embody the principles of economic democracy. These include food coops, worker-owned stores and production units, alternative newspapers, magazines, and publishing houses, public interest research groups, and alternative technology consulting groups and demonstration projects. This institutional network is vital. It is being linked together and strengthened by the New School for Democratic Management in San Francisco, and by resource providing legislation such as the National Consumer Coop Bank bill, which has already passed the House and is now in the Senate, and which provides \$18 million in technical assistance to be administered by ACTION, headed by Sam Brown.

These alternative institutions provide working examples of economic democracy in action; they are training grounds for people in the skills of running economic enterprises more democratically. And, perhaps most important, they sustain the electoral and organizing efforts by creating a democratic culture within or alongside the dominant business culture.

The movement for economic democracy is, and should be, decentralized and pluralist, with a focus on winning state and local elections, not national ones, on building state and local political organizations, not a third party or a national left organization; and on founding and running democratic enterprises, schools, and publications. Only once such a base is built will we be in a position to run a candidate for the presidency with any hope of winning or in any other way challenge for national power. ■



Don't blame it on Sigmund

Patrick Owens' review of Richard Rosen's book, *Psychobabble* (ITT, Jan. 18), is confusing. While he praises Rosen for explaining how various analytical schools substitute jargon for

clear speech, Owens condemns Rosen for regarding Freud with respect. This cavalier dismissal of Freud follows Owens' misinterpretation of what Rosen says about therapy faddists.

According to Owens, Rosen claims that psychobabblers "are incapable of emotions less synthetic than their language." Owens says, "As for emotions, the very act of describing them distorts and stereotypes them." He adds that Rosen's strongest point is that the spread of psychobabble indicates "the collapse of personal integrity" on the part of its users. The logic of Owens' review is that those who delve into psychobabble are fools who ought to know that emotions are ineffable, and that their failure to appreciate this reveals their stupidity. From there Owens proceeds to finger Sigmund Freud as the prime culprit responsible for what is wrong with modern psychological thought.

Actually, Rosen does not consider the cause or effect of psychobabble to be incurable idiocy. (I should note here that Richard Rosen is a close friend.) If stupidity were the true explanation for psychobabble, it, along with everything else, would be easy to understand. But the reasons for the rise of pop psychology cults and their corruption of language are complex, involving far more than witlessness. Rosen borrows from Russell Jacoby (author of *Social Amnesia*), who borrowed from Herbert Marcuse, in explicating some of the social roots of the phenomenon. Rosen writes, "As social conditions degenerate, a tender but cruel optimism suffocates skepticism. Confusion is not

clarified, merely given the name 'reality'."

Rosen does not regard even eager cult devotees as fools but often as victims of their own confusion, fears and cult promoters. He does not pin derogatory labels on them, as Owens implies.

Psychobabble is a symptom of the narcissistic 1970s, a reaction to the tumultuous '60s. It reflects disillusionment and frustration with both the Establishment and social movements. The cults that propagate psychobabble all claim to have the answer. Typically they suggest that accepting your present condition is a state of grace.

Tom Wolfe terms the 1970s the "Me Decade," a time of self-absorption. Wolfe's designation is now the common descriptive name stuck on the '70s. The term has merit, but Wolfe's perspective is generally overlooked. For all his style, Wolfe is simply a neo-conservative whose principal impulse is disdain. His insights are extraordinarily superficial and coy. Among other things, he believes that the working class is not working class; American society, he asserts, has withered into a mutant classless society. Pop psychology cults are therefore merely another spasm of an enormous but aimless middle class.

Other writing on pop cults is not more enlightening. *Powers of Mind* by George "Adam Smith" Goodman, a former member of the *New York Times* editorial board, for example, is just passable entertainment.

Rosen's *Psychobabble* is the first serious book on the subject accessible to a popular audience. It ought to be of wide interest, especially to those trying to

figure a way out of the present impasse.

Owens, though, mostly ignored and sometimes distorted Rosen's. Although Owens believes emotions can't be described, anyone who has read a reasonably good novel can claim otherwise. And Owens' remarks about Freud are hardly worth mentioning. Some of Freud's ideas now seem creaky, Victorian and quaint, but he cannot be waved away as a worthless quack. When many thinkers and psychoanalysts themselves are making useful and intelligent criticisms of Freudian psychology, categorically disparaging comments aren't constructive. Rosen, incidentally, doesn't recommend Freudian analysis as a necessary alternative to the current fads, as Owens insists. Rather, Rosen discusses its use of language.

There should be a debate within the left on pop cults and psychobabble. Unfortunately, Owens obscured the issue.

—Sidney Blumenthal
ITT Boston correspondent

Solution to last week's puzzle:

I	S	R	E	D	T	U	B	B	A	L	
A	N	I	T	A	E	R	A		A	G	A
N	O	C	O	M	M	E	N	T		L	E
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E	R	O	S	G	U	T	G	O	R	G	E
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P	A	Y	L	O	V	A		C	A	R	B
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		R	O	E		E	L		S	E	L
		T	F	R		L	E	X		T	R

ACLU

Continued from page 4.

ship believe the ACLU should take that case."

"If free speech means anything," Ennis said, "it means *any* free speech. We believe everyone has the right to express an opinion."

Mississippi chapter president Johnson said he'd have no qualms if the national office decided to defend the Klan. "I feel the national office could legitimately determine that First Amendment rights were primary. I personally would have no real problems with that decision."

Ennis says that the ACLU's firm support of the Klan's rights will ultimately attract support for his organization rather

than lose it. "In the long run it will not hurt us but help us," he said, "for the public will realize that the ACLU is a principled organization" that will not be compromised.

Up to now this has not been the case. The ACLU's legal support for the Klan has triggered vehement criticism, a severe drop in financial contributions and mass resignations—3,000 in the past five months.

In a Christmas letter mailed to Klan supporters, Klan national director David Duke credits his organization for much of the ACLU's decline in support. Citing the ACLU's legal defense of the Klan's organizing of white marines at Camp Pendleton, Calif., and elsewhere, Duke boasts that the Klan has "caused the basically anti-white ACLU to lose 40 percent of their support," and chalks this up as one of the Klan's major accomplishments of 1977. ■

(© Liberation News Service)

Jesse Jackson & GOP

Continued from page 6.

Blacks have voted overwhelmingly Democratic in state and local elections since the time of Roosevelt's New Deal. In all likelihood they will continue to do so, despite Jackson's rhetoric and appeals, which ignore some basic political realities.

First, the Republican party is essentially a conservative, rightwing party, with a small, ineffective so-called moderate wing typified by Jacob Javits of New York and Charles Percy of Illinois. No matter how many "moderate/centrist" glamor boys—like Illinois' Gov. James Thompson—they trot out, the Grand Old Party will still be the party of the right, special interests, entrenched opposition to reform, white suburban fears of blacks, and strong opposition to almost any federal initiative for any purpose except favors and concessions to the middle and upper classes.

There is no way that *any number* of black voters is going to dislodge the rightwing from its power in the GOP. Conservative voters are the GOP's bedrock; their aims and interests are simply incompatible with those of black and poor peo-

ple. If blacks in overwhelming numbers shifted to the GOP (which isn't going to happen), the conservatives would simply shift out of the GOP into a new party with Ronald Reagan at the helm.

Jackson's attempt to formulate a "republican strategy" to give black voters more leverage is in line with a long, but up to now, futile attempt to find a way in which black voters and black elected officials can maximize their political strength.

Up to now blacks have shunned forming a third party, and pressed their demands for power within the Democratic party. Some relatively minor concessions have been wrested from the Democrats, but nothing commensurate with the overwhelming black loyalty to the party. The Democratic leaders, up to now, have calculated correctly that blacks, with nowhere else to go but the Republicans, would threaten revolt at the polls but on election day would always return to the fold.

In all likelihood Jesse Jackson was chosen by the Republican National Committee to speak out in its behalf because of Jackson's new popularity with whites,

especially conservatives and suburbanites. Whatever else he may or may not be saying, whites *think* they hear Jackson saying to blacks the same thing whites have been saying for generations: Stop complaining, demonstrating and marching, cast down your buckets, and use your personal initiative to bootstrap your way out of poverty. It's the American way; it's the only way.

Jackson has said some things fairly close to this, and many other things. To be the hustler supreme, it's easy to tailor your remarks to fit the audience.

Although all the evidence isn't in yet, it's reasonable to assume that Jackson is

getting something from the Republicans. He wouldn't become their advocate otherwise.

Jackson's star is riding high. The darling of the white media, mostly because of PUSH for Excellence, Jackson is carefully but effectively being thrust into the spotlight as the ranking—to some the only—black leader who can speak for blacks nationally and internationally.

That role is perfect for him and for white Republicans also. After all, it's a lot easier to deal with one leader and "spokesman" than many.

Francis Ward is a reporter in Chicago and a member of the Kuumba Workshop.

Taiwan political arrests

Continued from page 11.

pei area. Before the recent arrests, Tsai Hung Ch'iao-wo and her son had "been openly raising the mysterious disappearance of their campaign workers and have been demanding that the government protect human rights of their campaign workers in accordance with the constitution," stated one of the letters received from Taiwan in the U.S. It added that the government and the newspapers had ignored her protests.

A pattern of intimidation.

It is widely suspected that the arrests marked a continuation of a pattern of intimidation. One of the letters received in the U.S. noted that "the latest arrests represent not any 'smashing of a communist spy ring,' but an open attempt to intimidate those—especially students—involved in the election campaign."

Citing its own unnamed high-level sources, the letter went on to note that the three publicly charged with sending the threats to foreign investors in Taiwan did not even know each other until July or August, and therefore could not possibly have been involved as a group in sending the warnings back in January.

In addition, the letters from Taiwan stated, the purpose of the arrests also was "to cow the rising student movement" and to reassure foreign capitalists that they can continue to make "profits with cheap Taiwan labor."

In the U.S., Taiwanese human rights activists fear that the arrests of little-known students is a testing of the waters by the government there to see what kind of outcry there might be from Taiwan citizens and from abroad to the arrest of more prominent persons, particularly literary figures, whom the government views as dangerous.

Helen Sun, professor of Chinese literature at the State University of New York, Albany, and herself a major Taiwanese novelist and short story writer, told IN THESE TIMES that the Taiwan regime seems on the verge of a severe crackdown

on Taiwanese writers whose works appeal especially to peasants, factory workers and soldiers. She cited as particularly being in danger the noted writers C.M. Huang, T. Wang, T.C. Yu, and Y.C. Chen. Chen was just released last year after seven years in prison.

None of these writers has any connection with the People's Republic of China, she said, but their works are nonetheless regarded as a threat by the regime because of their portrayal of class differences within the Taiwan society. The regime "does not want people in Taiwan to know that side of life," she said.

There are apparently ample reasons for Sun's fears. After American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's trip to China last summer, the Taiwan government hastily scheduled a "Second Forum on Art and Literature," to which politicians, party ideologues and "friendly" writers were invited. The forum concluded with a number of strongly-worded resolutions that emphasized that Taiwanese art and literature must be coordinated with the national policy of anti-communism, and that works depicting realism and class struggle were to be condemned. Worker/peasant/soldier literature, said an August article in the government-controlled *The United Daily* "has its special historical background and political motivation" in the teachings of Mao Tse-tung and, therefore, should not be tolerated.

Recently, the Kuomintang proposed the reestablishment of a "Central Literary Directive Committee" under the Kuomintang Central Committee, with the apparent purpose of cracking down on literature. Sun and others fear that this signals the coming of a program of arrests of certain writers in the near future unless they heed the warnings contained in the recent arrests. In warning the writers by arresting non-writers, said one Chicago-based activist, the government is following an ancient Chinese proverb: "Kill a chicken to warn a monkey."

John Hanrahan is a veteran Washington journalist and coauthor of *Lost Frontier: The Marketing of Alaska*.

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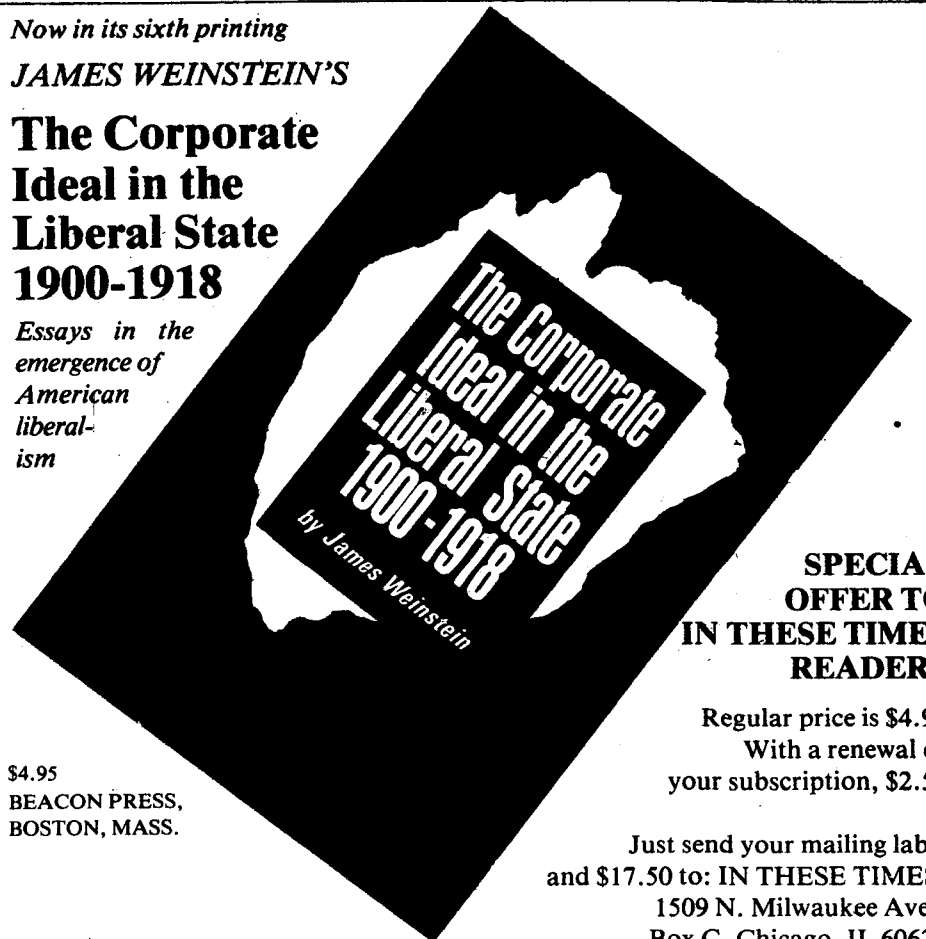
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

FBI 'asset' goes to Moscow

By Sidney Blumenthal

BOSTON

THE NEW NBC NEWS CORRESPONDENT assigned to cover the Soviet Union from Moscow, Gene Pell, is described in FBI documents as having actively aided its counter-intelligence program during the 1960s.

For the past year Pell has been the co-anchor on WCVB-TV, the ABC affiliate in Boston, but in the 1960s he worked for the Westinghouse network. In 1967, according to FBI memos, Pell and Lamont Thompson, a former FBI agent who is the Westinghouse Area vice president for Boston station WBZ, aided the Bureau in trying to discredit the anti-Vietnam war movement.

"Thompson, Pell, and station WBZ," an FBI document notes, "have been extremely cooperative, discreet and reliable with this office in the past, not only in regard to counter-intelligence activities but to all other phases of the Bureau's investigative interests."

The FBI documents that mention Pell were released in early spring 1977 under the Freedom of Information Act to the Socialist Workers party. This batch of

memos listed journalists in the Boston area who were considered by the FBI as "assets" willing to disseminate information the Bureau wanted revealed and to develop stories the Bureau desired. An "asset" differs from an informer, who is on the FBI payroll. Although Pell was compliant with the Bureau the documents do not mention any cash exchange.

During a week of intense anti-war activity in mid-April, 1967, which culminated with a rally at the UN addressed by Martin Luther King, Pell, on Thompson's orders, prepared a five-part series on the student movement. Aired on successive nights on WBZ, the series was a slick smear of peace activists as dupes or subversives.

FBI memos indicate that the Pell series determined "to what extent various local campus organizations and protest groups are infiltrated or controlled by persons or organizations with an extreme left-wing background." The sole motive behind staging the series appeared to be to label the growing anti-war movement communist.

When this story broke last spring WBZ issued a statement contending that Pell's and Thompson's actions were "the normal routine in investigative reporting."

The station claimed that Pell, not Thompson, as the FBI documents state, originated the idea for the series and that the Bureau didn't "view the finished product prior to broadcast." Yet the station failed to deny that Pell had cooperated with the FBI, which at the time was engaged in a comprehensive counter-intelligence program aimed at a broad range of progressive groups and individuals.

This FBI program—COINTELPRO—was illegal, never having been authorized by the Attorney General, and has been the subject of congressional inquiries. Pell, therefore, was an eager participant in an overall plan whose premise was criminal.

After his stint as FBI-helptest at WBZ Pell was promoted to national political correspondent for the Westinghouse chain of television stations. From there he was promoted to chief of the network's foreign news office based in London. He will be the first NBC correspondent in two years to be stationed in Moscow. NBC's renewed interest may be due to its exclusive broadcasting rights to cover the 1980 Olympics, which will be held there.

Soviet officials have repeatedly insisted that some American journalists working there are CIA agents. The Soviets say

that this accounts for the distorted coverage of their country. So far not a single of these phantom CIA-journalists has been exposed. But now it is indisputable that NBC's new man in Moscow has worked hand-in-glove with an American intelligence agency. If the Soviets wish to create an international incident in the future over Gene Pell's presence in their country they will, at least in his case, be on solid ground.

Sidney Blumenthal is the Boston correspondent for IN THESE TIMES.



Harassment of black officials

By Jason Berry

MORE THAN 100 BLACK leaders and politicians have been audited by the IRS or investigated by the FBI since the beginning of the '70s.

The investigation of any politician is big news and these investigations have been given prominent coverage. The result has been not only damage to personal reputations, but a public perception that black leaders are corrupt and out for their own personal gain. This in spite of the fact that very few of the black leaders have been convicted of any wrongdoing.

The Sacramento-based National Association of Human Rights Workers has now issued a book-length report on this subject, *The Dilemma of Black Politics: A Report on Harassment of Black Elected Officials*. Drawing on news reports, interviews, research and correspondence, author Mary Warner documents more than 100 cases of black officials confronted by various forms of governmental harassment.

"The leaders that were developed through the Poverty Programs of the '60s," Warner writes, "were audited and investigated; charged with misuses of funds and incompetent management. The programs that challenged the status quo were 'defunded' or 'modified' or 'transferred,' the staffs were left jobless, with new skills and no way to utilize them, with new expectations and no way to realize them... Over and over again, the dominant characteristic of those who are assailed is their commitment to human rights and their stand on civil rights..."

"[Harassment] occurs in small towns and major urban areas, in integrated districts as well as predominantly Black jurisdictions," she continues. "It has touched over half of the 16 members of the Congressional Black Caucus; three of four black state executives; dozens of black state legislators; at least 20 black mayors..." Of these, less than 5 percent were convicted of any wrongdoing. Only about a third actually went to trial.



Black Representatives William Clay (D-Mo.), Charles Rangel (D-NY) and Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) have all been among the more than 100 black leaders harassed by government agencies.

Warner charges "to the business community, a black mayor committed to affirmative action in employment and contracts may be a threat... To southern landowners, a black tax assessor who can initiate a reassessment may be a threat."

These charges are supported by Warner's documented case studies. Those "investigated" include Julian Bond, Charles Evers, Carl Stokes, Charles Rangel, Shirley Chisholm, William Clay, Charles Diggs, John Conyers, Lt. Governors George Brown (Col.) and Mervyn Dymally (Calif.).

The Warner Report also includes a provocative reassessment of the late Adam Clayton Powell, concluding that the controversial Harlem representative's chief

error was not the many allegations he incurred—which did not stand up legally—but that he played the political game around him, taking junkets, juggling funds, using congressional privileges in questionable ways—acts for which his colleagues were not hounded, but for which he, as a strident critic of racism, evoked congressional wrath.

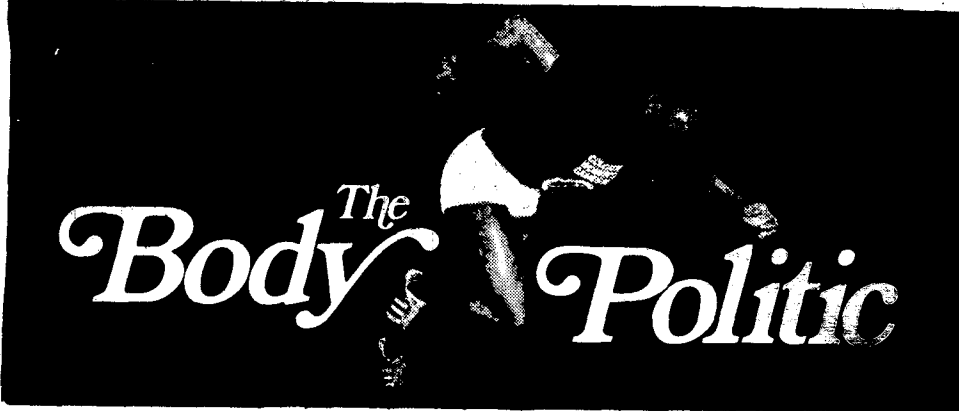
Warner also criticized the New York media for discriminating against Percy Sutton in his recent mayoralty campaign, by denying him serious news coverage, despite a substantial bloc of black voters, while the leading white candidates received more as a result.

This same charge was made during the election by Carl Stokes of WNBC in New

York, who as mayor of Cleveland faced an extraordinary "investigation" by law enforcement officials there. Stokes, like most of the other black elected officials, survived politically but at painful personal expense.

Many blacks who appear in the Warner Report are committed to humane political reforms. They have been unjustly punished while the media plays a key role in their persecution. The Warner Report should be required reading in every newsroom.

Jason Berry is the author of *Amazing Grace: With Charles Evers in Mississippi*. His investigative reports on the IRS have appeared in numerous publications and newspapers.



Will sports co-opt American women? Will football and field hockey make women aggressive and competitive, concerned with proving themselves at the expense of others? Is athletics just another trap that will eventually sell out the real strength of the women's movement?

Sports has been identified with machismo for so long that the increased interest in athletic activity by women looks suspiciously reactionary to many leftist men, and even some women.

But this fear shows a basic insensitivity to the physical-emotional handicap of growing up female, and blindness to the liberatory potential in sports for women, and for all people.

Girls grow up watching themselves. Their bodies are on display from babyhood on and their maturity as women is measured by the degree to which they can identify their own bodies as mysterious, alien and finally, sexual.

I remember being told never to cross my legs at the knees. When I find myself sitting in public places, hands folded on lap, ankles crossed, I recall being told how to look (pose) for a grade-school pageant.

It was, even then, my responsibility to oversee my limbs, my hair, my smile. I was a "picture," a "sight," a "vision." But since I was the creator of my own image, I was split in two: the surveyor and the surveyed.

It's hard to run, jump and play ball if you're thinking about appearance rather than action. To enjoy yourself in athletics, you have to let go of a part of self-consciousness, take risks and challenges without visualizing yourself.

But a "feminine" body-image is based on turning the self into an object—an object valued for its appearance. Growing up feminine can link intrinsically pleasurable physical activities with shameful, painful "exhibitions." Why is there any amazement at the extent of female frigidity in this culture?

Getting rid of the split-image of a woman's self is a rough process. It requires replacing the Man who lives in your head (and judges for the Miss America contest) with a woman. This feat is not accomplished when you learn to understand

the emotional, economic and physical oppression of all women. It's something you have to learn and unlearn with your body.

In spite of growing peer support and the media sell of the "lady jock," there's still more to stop women's participation in athletics than to encourage it. For example, girls were (and still are) imbued with a strong fear of injury. When I approached my mother with bloody knees, she told me, "If you don't want to get hurt, don't run." Who wants to get hurt? Professional sports reinforce that identification of pain and action and applaud it: He plays hurt. He's got guts.

Add to this the universal fear of failure and ineptitude, and the old fear of not looking good. Taking to the street, to the courts and fields "invites" harassment and ridicule. (Am I asking for it? Should I respond or does that "invite" more flak...or worse?)

But in overcoming this list of fears and taking to sports, women have a chance to reclaim the pleasure of their own bodies, to forget themselves-as-objects, to demand their rights as athletes.

Fifteen years after swearing it off, I'm learning how to run. It's a slow process but I never felt better or more in control of my life. Mirrors and scales don't hold me in terror anymore because I have a new knowledge of my body. It comes from the inside.

Today, girls are allowed, if not encouraged, to try everything from soccer to skateboarding. The presence of world-class women competitors, of Title IX, and even of corporate supporters of women's athletics, are bound to have far-reaching effects on the women of the future.

Many women are aware of and worried about the pitfalls of sports, especially of competition. But the problems and dangers involved in changing the face of sports, in seizing this special kind of self-control, do not outweigh the rewards. ■

This is the first in a series of articles which will discuss some of the issues mentioned, and some of the issues implied above (with a little help from John Berger). I would particularly appreciate feedback from women thinking about and/or participating in any kind of athletics/sport/body conditioning, etc.

Teamster turmoil

Continued from page 8.

dealings, that eventually led to his downfall. When Hoffa entered prison in 1967 for jury tampering, he placed Frank Fitzsimmons, an inept Detroit Teamster official, in charge of the union. Retaining the presidency, Hoffa expected to run the union from his jail cell and emerge quickly through legal maneuvers.

Fitzsimmons began to enjoy his new job, however—especially its fringe benefits like access to a \$3.5 million jet—and made his own deal with the mob. When Hoffa did get out, on a sentence commutation from President Nixon that barred Hoffa from union activity for nine years, Fitzsimmons used the powers Hoffa had created to stop him from regaining hold on the union. As Hoffa became more desperate, he began doing "flaky things" that threatened mob security. His elimination was only a matter of time.

The Teamsters today bears the indelible stamp of Hoffa's fist. Because he was widely respected by rank and filers and was basically competent in running the union, he was able to get away with manipulating the union. Union members, according to the conventional wisdom, didn't care how much Jimmy ripped off, as long as they received their cut in higher wages and fringes.

With Fitzsimmons in charge, the situation has radically changed. Sweetheart contracts with employers, which existed under Hoffa, have become commonplace. The government has put the pension fund under the control of an insurance company, thus removing it from direct mob control. Fitzsimmons, who has built a reputation as an incompetent boob, appears to be widely despised by rank and filers and seems on his way out.

For union reformers the growing cracks in the Fitzsimmons administration have opened space that would have been inconceivable in Hoffa's day. If any heroic figure emerges from Velie's book, it is the rank and file Teamster who is gradually organizing to retake control of his own union.

Velie puts his bets on the Teamsters for a Democratic Union and describes the work of TDU leader Pete Camarata and others to turn the union around. "Many Teamster rebellions have flared and died," Velie writes. "Whether the current one, flying the banner of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, will succeed remains to be seen. Since TDU has already absorbed a half-dozen competing rebel movements, there is reason to believe it has better prospects of success than its predecessors." —Dan Marshall

SPORTS



Super ads for the Super Bowl

By Cary Goodman

DALLAS COWBOY HEAD COACH Tom Landry said it but they could just as easily have been the words of CBS Sports sales manager Mike Nuwaky: "We started way back in March getting ready for this, and I want to thank the guys who paid the price."

Landry was talking about his football players immediately after they conquered the Denver Broncos (28-10) and won Super Bowl XII. Nuwaky would have been talking about the 32 corporations who paid upwards of \$172,000 for a 30-second commercial during the game, which was aired by CBS in prime time Jan. 15 for an audience of more than 85 million people.

The advertising game is serious and secretive. As one television time salesman said, "Every bank, beer and car dealer wants to be in the Super Bowl. It's a matter of prestige."

It's also a matter of clout, sophisticated marketing strategies and big bucks. Take this year's Super Bowl, for example. Just like the athletes the commercial sponsors and their advertising firms started getting ready for the game almost a year ago. Though the corporate giants did not have to go through the physical preparation and anguish of the players, they nevertheless had to evolve game plans, develop strategies to counter their opponents and scout one another in the hopes of gaining a competitive advantage.

The corporations didn't have draw plays, square-out passes or field goal kickers. They did utilize their own techniques like CPMs (commercial costs per thousand households), psychographics (lifestyle research statistics), specialists like network negotiators (hired by the corporation; employed by an advertising agency to negotiate with sales managers). Since not everybody pays the same amount for a 30-second spot on the Super Bowl, the major sponsors vie with each other through their agencies to "get the best deal."

How do you get the best deal for an

In preparation for the game the corporations developed their own game plans, strategies and approaches.

event as big as the Super Bowl? It's not easy, according to one ad agency network negotiator who preferred anonymity to the corporate pressure she claimed she'd receive for "divulging sensitive information." Her analysis showed that, "The Super Bowl is a fairly inefficient method of advertising. You get great 'reach' [a big audience], but the cost per thousand households (her cost was \$130,000 for 30 seconds or \$4.18 per thousand) makes it damn expensive. I'd say you're better off with a 'junk' (low content/good ratings) show."

The competition for access to sports advertising spots is "fierce," according to *Media Decisions* magazine. The top five national beer breweries—Anheuser, Miller, Schlitz, Pabst and Coors—for example, spent a total of \$100,041,800 on media advertising in 1976, with \$70,546,800 going to network TV primarily for the purchase of sports units.

"Next year," said our ad agency source, "sports is going to surpass even prime time in its cost rate. Things are so crazy that they even want us to buy a football package for 1978-79 before the '77-78 season is over."

Before this year's Super Bowl was over 45 client commercials and a dozen CBS network promos were shown in the four-hour air time. This amounted to 33 minutes of commercials. The athletes themselves were only on the "air" for an additional 60 minutes.

Given the amount of fumbles, dropped passes and other miscues that seem to rule the Super Bowl each year, maybe that's not a bad ratio after all.

Cary Goodman is a sports activist in New York.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records



Stan Rogers, John Allan Cameron, Margaret Christl, and Ian Robb at the Mariposa Folk Festival in Toronto, June 1977

Stan Rogers captures the hard lives of Canada's poorest provinces.

FOGARTY'S COVE

Stan Rogers
Barn Swallow Records

THE BARLEY GRAIN FOR ME

ME and other traditional songs sung in Canada
Margaret Christl and Ian Robb
Folk Legacy Records

For those who live or have rambled through the northern United States, Canada's ability to generate a special excitement will be no surprise. To spend the weekend in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver for a good play, great music and fine food is that special relief from gray winters.

In the summers, Canada claims two of the most creative and comfortable outdoor folk festivals, Toronto's Mariposa and Winnipeg. With *Fogarty's Cove* and *The Barley Grain for Me*, Canadian singers can rightfully claim two of the best folk LPs of the year.

Fogarty's Cove is the debut record of Stan Rogers, a singer/songwriter who captures the hard lives of Canada's poorest provinces, the Maritimes. His songs are well-crafted paintings of economically displaced fisherfolk and miners, their legends of the good times, the rip offs, and the present life where the dole is often all that is left.

This record is somewhat over-produced. However, Roger's fine ability as a tune maker and singer makes for brilliant delivery of songs. "The Rawdon Hills" brings together the pride, the des-

peration and the dreams of workers whose place of work has closed around them:

The grandsons of the mining men scratch the fields among the trees.

When the gold played out, they were all turned out with granite dusted knees.

But at night around the stoves sometimes the stories are told The Rawdon Hills were once touched by gold.

and for the "trawlered-out" fisherfolk:

In Make and Break Harbor the boats are so few

Too many are pulled up and rotten.

Most houses stand empty. Old nets hung to dry

Are blown away, lost and forgotten.

Stan Rogers is a person of deep feelings. His songs of fun reflect the kind of drinking that encompasses human contact. "Forty Five Years," a love song that drew my tears, was written for his wife to be. *Fogarty's Cove* places Stan Rogers in a firm lead for the best folk composer of the mid-1970s.

The Barley Grain for Me is a joyous delight. Margaret Christl and Ian Robb are outstanding singers of traditional song. They are part of the music. They have translated the old songs through their own lives. Both are British-born while offering Canadian songs. It is a splendid combination.

The Canadian versions are rich with wonderful text and tune variants of songs that have almost been "sung to death." Robb's superb rendition of "The Foggy Dew" has the couple getting married and living happily ever-after. Christl's haunting voice makes the great tune in "Green Bushes" something extra special even though the words are ordinary.

"Hard Times," which gained

its widest popularity in Newfoundland during the Depression gives a rakeover to the enemies of the fisherfolk: the weather, the merchant buyer, the baker, the house builder, the parson, the doctor, the last verse ends with strong comment:

The best thing to do is work with a will;

For when it's all over, you're hauled on the hill.

You're hauled on the hill, and laid out in the cold,

And when it's all over, you're still in the hole.

And it's hard, hard times.

Grit Laskin adds tasteful accompaniment. The set of notes are Folk Legacy's best. A good bibliography and discography gives a helpful lead to much more Canadian music.

—Josh Dunson

Barn Swallow Records' address is 120 Calre Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Josh Dunson is Contributing Editor for Folk Music for *Chicago* magazine and reviews folk music for *IN THESE TIMES*.

REUNION

Country Joe and the Fish (Fantasy)

That ragtag band of Bay Area psychedelics is back, and their reunion has resulted in a remarkable album—a bouquet to the flower child with the feeling of an Irish wake.

It's their best since their first, and the vaudeville humor, the corny musical theatrics are still there. But the Fish have become more sophisticated. There's a sweetening here that they wouldn't have used—perhaps couldn't have afforded before.

At the core of the album is a remake of "Not So Sweet Martha Lorraine," one of the vignettes of the '60s that defined the period—an acid portrait of a psychedelic groupie. "Section 43" (from *Electric Music*) is updated here, appropriately eerie, spacy and jazzy, as "Gibson's Song."

This band exemplified the chaos and hope of the '60s, a peculiarly volatile time, alive with politics and art, joy and despair. As McDonald has said, perhaps Country Joe and the Fish have just taken an extended break. Let's hope that was the case.

—Carlo Wolff

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- ☐ Ernest Hemingway
- ☐ Emma Goldman
- ☐ Angelina Grimke
- ☐ Adam & Eve
- ☐ Karl Marx
- ☐ Groucho Marx

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Dan Marshall on the efforts to settle the miners' strike; the Congressional debate on arms sales abroad; overhaul of the banks; a report from India by Mervyn Jones; the women's movement in Italy and Spain; Geoffrey Aronson in Jordan; and two films on Vietnam.

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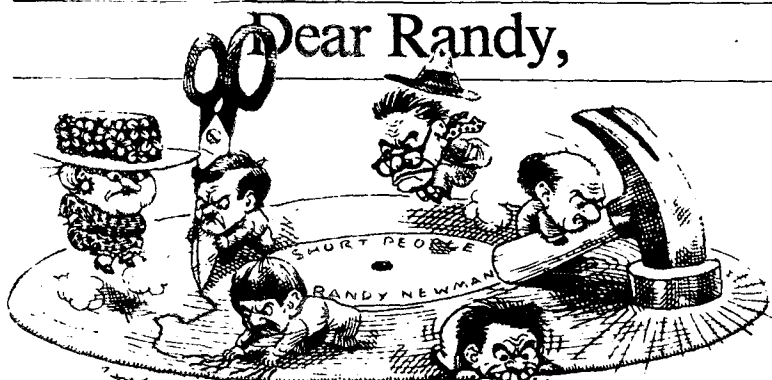
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ART

Chinese collectives paint collectively

After the Great Leap Forward in 1958, rural communards in Huhsien—a remote agricultural section of central China—turned to painting to record and express their feelings about their daily life. The result has been a popular art of enormous sophistication and social vision.

An exhibit of these peasant paintings, presently at the Brooklyn Museum, will visit New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles and Houston later this year.

The Huhsien paintings catalog a New Futurism, one with roots in the woman-plus-man-with-red-banner school of socialist realism. But here the focus is on collective work styles, "Seething with Enthusiasm," as one of the tableaux is called.

From the lapis-colored depths of a mountain valley in a snowstorm, "Transportation Team on High Mountains" shows a caravan of trucks winding along a road edged in icy turquoise. In the more bucolic "Selling Eggs to the State," pairs of women weigh out bushel baskets of brown and porcelain pastel-colored eggs. The round, red-cheeked faces show none of the "facelessness" expected from writings about contemporary Chinese life, but the talents of different painters fuse in style to form what seems like the work of a single artist.

Collective production of some canvasses may explain this phenomenon. Or possibly the subject—collectivization of agriculture—inspired collaboration.

According to the exhibit handbook, these artists do not earn their living from painting. By western standards they must be called amateurs. Many carry their sketchpads to the fields along with their hoes. Understanding this context makes the Huhsien achievement both more remarkable and understandable.

Art produced in the workplace will necessarily be widely comprehensible and based on mass, rather than individual experience. Thus, "Store Grain Everywhere" demonstrates how a production line molds itself to the work at



Our Commune's Fishpond



Store Grain Everywhere (1973)

hand as smoothly as a bicycle chain turns its wheels.

One can't help wonder exactly how the combination of work and painting is accomplished. Do other brigade members pull carts

twice as heavy while some blend paint on their palettes? Are those with extraordinary talent encouraged to paint at the expense of other production goals? Is there a standard production rate for

art work, as there might be for apple-picking?

Using opaque colors which have been ground in water and mingled with glue, the artists employ subtle gradations—a half-dozen different yellows in the same canvas—to create intense colors. This is representational art, with an ideological wash. The perspective of some paintings is deliberately vast, to suggest fields without end and unending production. In one canvas, "Gathering Garlic," the tones are deliberately subdued except for lines of magenta around the over-sized bulbs. The effect gives a certain gaiety to harvesting the pungent crop.

While the standard of the selection among the various artists emphasizes uniformity, an occasional unevenness reveals the talented amateur. Children are represented as small-scale adults. Some of the produce harvested is of alarming proportions, more suited to

science fiction than social realism.

Yet even this distortion of proportion reflects artistic cunning. In "A Commune Fishpond," hundreds of fish flop into nets pulled by a dozen laughing "fisher people." Over their glistening scales bright yellow fish eyes peer, far larger than life. This gives the fish a cheerful look. Leaping enthusiastically into the net, tails wagging, even the fish seem to be pulling their share of the revolution.

—David King Dunaway
Peasant paintings from Huhsien County can be seen through January at the Brooklyn Museum; at the San Francisco Chinese Cultural Center in February and March; the Art Institute of Chicago in April and May; the Otis Art Institute of Los Angeles June and July; and the Contemporary Arts Museum in Houston in August and September.

David King Dunaway is a freelance writer in Santa Cruz, California.

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BOOKS

A modest proposal for ending hunger

FOOD FIRST

By Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, with Cary Fowler
Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1977

How should I respond to reports in the media about coming food crises? Ought I to think of my country as a "lifeboat" in which to save myself, perhaps at the expense of other nations and their peoples? Or is a broader vision needed, wherein I view myself as a member of one community: the world?

The purpose of *Food First* is to provide basic information for thinking over these matters. It succeeds admirably and can help us to act rationally in the coming, problem-laden years.

Moreover, it is a pleasure to read.

Lappe and Collins let a concerned layperson ask 48 probing questions about the world food situation, each of which is answered in turn. The book's chief theses, slowly unfolded in the answers, are:

- that no country needs to have a food problem;
- that problems like famine and nutritional inequality are largely the results of misuse of land and of exploitation of populations;
- and that the ensuing devastation can, with effort, be counteracted.

This case is argued by presenting a vast body of data in a systematic, yet simple way. A running critical evaluation gives the authors' views, which are presented on three levels.

First, there are some examples. We are shown that even Bangladesh (popularly written off as hopeless) "probably now produces enough to keep all its people sufficiently fed. But the rich

eat several times more grain than the poor." Indeed, "an elite few prevent the majority from having access to the country's resources." Land reform can increase production and spread those democratic privileges and freedoms that are now largely denied.

Roughly the same holds for the Sahel. Here as in Bangladesh the possession of most of the land by a few large holders has, with the aid of their "modern" farming techniques, destabilized ecological systems which for centuries had been decently exploited by the local population. Clearly, this undemocratic and physically debilitating situation can be remedied.

Secondly, we learn more about these modern approaches to land exploitation. The harmful results of the large-scale use of insecticides like DDT are described in detail. DDT is forbidden in the USA, so its American producers are eager to sell it abroad, and their success has amply covered the loss of their home market. But it turns out that DDT is not needed to ensure the efficient production of high-quality crops, as the Japanese have demonstrated.

Other malpractices, such as the destruction of entire forests to render areas suitable for the growth of a single crop are reported. The results are almost always the same: the local residents are deprived of their own land; they are forced to work at low wages under the new system of ownership; their nutritionally excellent ecological balance is destroyed; profit is created for a few by the many's labor.

Thirdly, the authors show how this exploitation is organized. A large (often multinational) "agribusiness" concern can acquire control over large areas of land, can force the peasants to work on



it (their only option being to flee to the cities and join the urban poor), and can convince the government to buy implements made by that very firm. Even when the firm does not actually own the land, it collaborates very closely with the owners. This is an attractive policy since the taint of imperialism is removed from the surface of the operations. A "global supermarket" can be constructed from this web of international contracts and agreements.

The hamburger is, perhaps, the universal symbol of this economic integration.

Much more is revealed in this book. We read about the nutri-

tional problems of underdeveloped areas and their exacerbation by the growth of the global supermarket.

For example, breast feeding is discouraged in favor of canned milk, which its multinational producers bill as a status symbol. However, a mother's milk is usually suited to the nutritional needs of a child in a given region, whereas canned milk need not be. Moreover, a mother who cannot afford enough canned milk will often dilute what little she can buy to make it last. The resulting malnutrition has been widely documented, and Lappe and Collins summarize the data.

The book closes with some sug-

gestions directed to Americans. The solution of problems related to food and its distribution is seen as a necessary condition for the treatment of other social injustices. Hence the title.

This compendious yet lucid book ought to be widely read. For if we remain uninformed about these issues we "will be forced to translate our own legitimate food requirements into opposition to those of countries where hundreds of millions go hungry." The results of our own needless ignorance may well be disastrous.

—George Berger
George Berger is an American teaching at the University of Amsterdam.

Science fiction writers vs. War

STUDY WAR NO MORE

Edited by Joseph Haldeman
St. Martin's Press, N.Y., \$8.95

The fly-leaf of this slender volume promises ten alternatives to war, conceived by ten prominent science-fiction writers. Editor Joseph Haldeman, a science fiction writer of considerable acclaim, vouches for the stories as "hopeful, chilling, satirical and entertaining, whether practical or not. And all of them offer food for thought. The ones that offer hope as well offer something rare."

Whether the alternatives presented are practical, who knows? But food for thought they do give, and entertaining they are.

Ben Bova (editor of *Analog*, a science fiction magazine) presents us with a complicated dueling machine to be used by prime ministers, presidents or those in high places who seek to make war. The belligerents may fight a duel on this ingenious device without hurting anyone. The machine simply settles a score and works out the aggressive feelings.

Paul Anderson takes us to the time after World War III, which "short and inconclusive as it was, made painfully clear that mass destruction had become ridiculous." Through the voice of the newly elected president of the University of California, the author tells us that "many distinguished

thinkers regard our present system of killing—not whole populations, but the leaders of those populations—as a step forward." In short, assassination! Shocking? Is 50,000 U.S. dead in Vietnam less shocking, or the death of Vietnamese more acceptable?

Isaac Asimov, one of the greats of the genre, prescribes peace and freedom through cybernetic regimentation. With tongue in cheek, I'm sure, Mr. Asimov advocates a completely computerized society and concludes that "individuals may be emotional enough to want war as an optimum solution. If the various nations all computerized themselves properly...all the nations' computers would agree on solutions since the world is small. We rise together, all of us; or we sink together."

Even with my repugnance for a computerized society, I find Mr. Asimov's thinking holds up better than the proposals for a neutron bomb.

In "Basilisk," Harvey Ellison suggests that those who wage war become anaesthetized to its horrors. His alternative would be to force those who create war to see the ugly face of what it achieves, in a deeply moving, skin-crawling story that makes you ashamed of man's barbarism.

Harry Harrison's satirical novel, *Bill, the Galactic Hero* reflects his utter contempt for war and

warriors. William Nabors writes of a peace virus to which there is no known antidote. Damon Knight's alternative flies in the face of the worn-out cliché: you can't change human nature. And finally there is a highly dramatic series of letters by Joe Haldeman, who brainstormed the idea of the collection.

"Whether or not you agree with me that all nations must give up their arms is immaterial," he writes. "Whether I am a saint or a power-drunk madman is immaterial. I give the governments of the world three days' notice—perhaps less than three days if they do not follow my instructions to the letter!"

This is nuclear blackmail—a threat so powerful as to make even nations think.

If we don't turn the arms race into a peace race, we really face extinction. It's time to abandon the stereotyped bromides and start thinking along original lines. However amusingly unrealistic the alternatives in *Study War No More* may seem, the book deserves an audience and discussion.

Maybe it is going to take the "unrealistic" to abolish the realism that presently menaces humanity.

—Mildred Simon
Mildred Simon is a lecturer and a journalist in southern California.



Joseph Haldeman, science fiction writer and editor

Listener-Backed Radio

BEFORE DAWN ON A RAINY OREGON morning, a car pulls up to a storefront in Southeast Portland. Clutching record jackets to his breast, a figure runs to the front door. Inside a small cluttered air booth, another person is just winding up a late-night '50s rock'n'roll show. Placing an LP on one of two turntables, the still-wet newcomer flips a switch and speaks into a microphone: "And now for some oldies but goodies." He turns up a volume control knob and out over the air waves flow some Gregorian chants.

So begins another day at KBOO-FM, Portland's non-profit, listener-supported radio station, and all over town clock radios will be switching on to the Dawn Concert classical music program.

Operating mostly with volunteers, KBOO has grown in nine years from a one-man, one-room, ten-watt mini-station to a seven person staff, over 150 volunteers, and a 12,000 watt output, offering Portlanders live and complete city council meetings; shows by gay rights groups, Marxist collectives and Young Americans for Freedom; rock, jazz, sitar and gamelan music—sounds no commercial radio advertiser would stand for.

KBOO got started when a group of frustrated classical music buffs appealed to Seattle's listener-sponsored KRAB. KRAB was licensed to a non-profit foundation, and announcers were able to do any kind of programming they liked. The Portlanders asked for assistance to set up a similar station. What they got was David Calhoun.

Calhoun was a phenomenon. Big, red-haired and exuberant, he was an ex-monk and a third-year med student, working as a volunteer at KRAB. He climbed into his VW and moved south. Sleeping on couches and bumming meals, he began to put together the infrastructure necessary for a community radio station. Soon there was a one-room, downtown office-studio, space in someone's garage for a transmitter and an assemblage of people willing to help: West Hills society ladies, movement radicals, professional broadcast engineers and musicians.

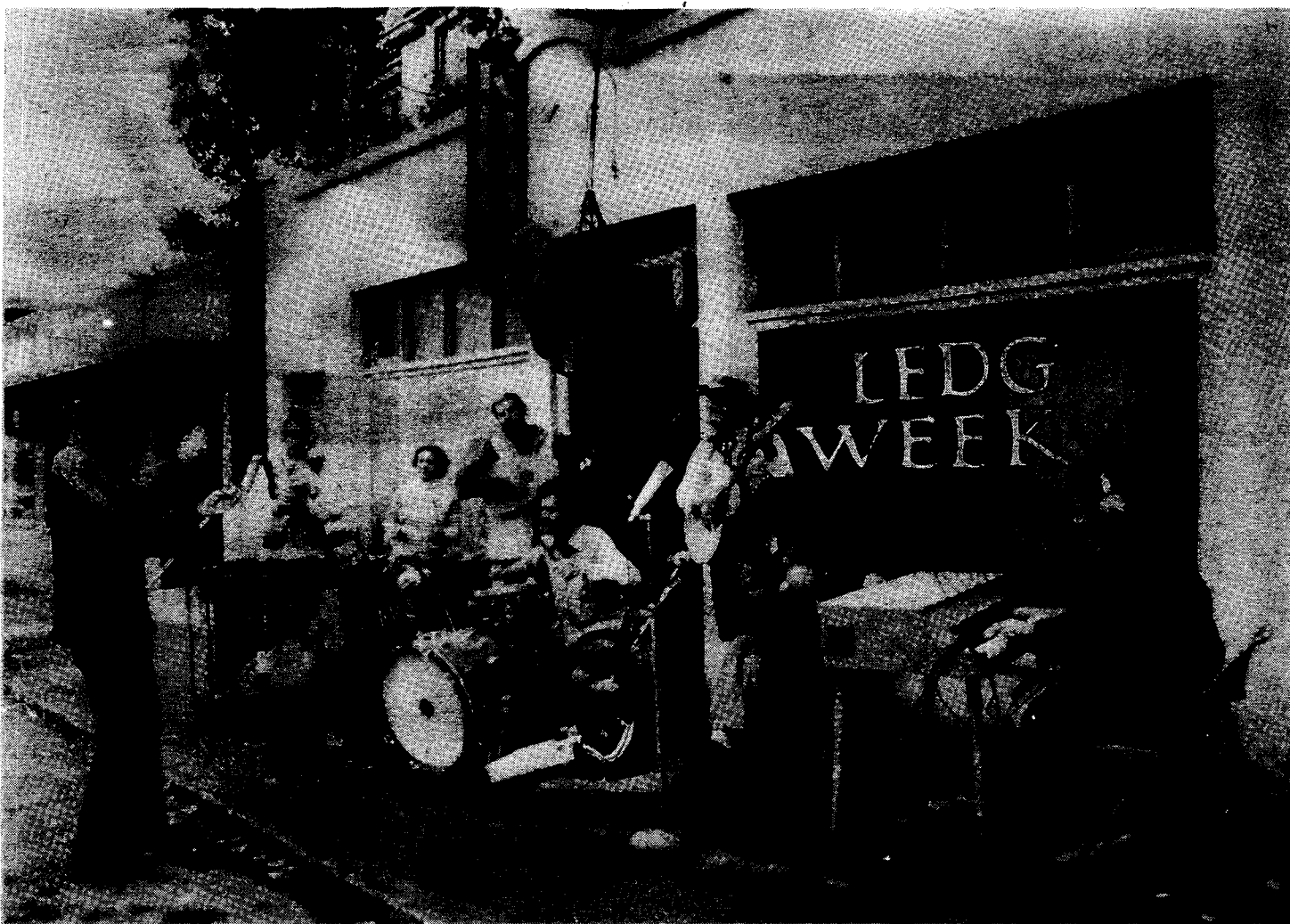
In 1968 FCC gave its approval and KBOO went on the air—10 watts of alternative radio serving the Greater Portland area.

Almost immediately the station began to grow. KBOO volunteers lugged big Ampex tape recorders to harpsichord recitals, political events and neighborhood meetings. When the Berrigan brothers or David and Joan (Baez) Harris came to town, they were invited to the KBOO studio. Local poets discovered they had an electronic outlet. Portland's cultural and political communities began to "think radio" when they planned an event.

A listenership began to coalesce. Bach buffs twisted their dipole antennas to pick up KBOO's tiny signal among the megawatt giants. One Gene Sheppard fan who couldn't get KBOO at home used to drive downtown and park to listen to him on her car radio. Subscriptions were drifting in.

After three years, KBOO had outgrown its studio and moved to a storefront. That grew into two makeshift studios, housing a 6,000-album collection and quality broadcasting equipment. The transmitter increased its power by slow stages. It blew tubes and went off the air with distressing frequency, but when it was operating, you could hear KBOO from much of northwest Oregon.

The KBOO story is typical of listener-supported radio in the U.S. which would be called a growth industry if someone were making money from it. Today there are 40 such stations and an equal number



KBOOites sing for their supper during Pledge Week, 1976, with city commissioner Mildred Schwab on electric piano.

of licenses pending.

It all started in Berkeley in 1949 when a group of WWII draft resisters were looking for ways to be involved in radical community activities. They learned that FCC had set aside a space at one end of the FM band for non-profit, educational stations. The COs formed the non-profit Pacifica Foundation and put KPFA on the air.

KPFA became a focal point for intellectuals, artists, musicians and political activists, and has been a major force in building the cultural and political communities of the Bay Area. Over the years Mother KPFA has spawned KPFA (L.A.), WBAI (N.Y.C.), KPFT (Houston) and WPFW (Washington, D.C.). This Pacifica network might be considered the first generation of listener-supported stations.

The second generation began in 1965 when KPFA volunteer Lorenzo Milam moved to Seattle and founded KRAB in an abandoned doughnut shop. Milam heard a different drummer from the Pacifica folk, whose stations were tightly run and highly political. KRAB was loose, irreverent and colored by Milam's sardonic sense of humor. When Pacifica stations needed money, they went to their listeners with reasoned appeals. KRAB's approach to fund-raising included the Piano Drop, in which a baby grand was toppled from a helicopter before a crowd of thousands, while volunteers passed the hat.

It was to Milam that the Portlanders appealed for help in launching KBOO. Delighted by its success, he and Jeremy

Lansman, KRAB's chief engineer, went to St. Louis in 1970 to start KDNA. Blessed with some money and lots of chutzpah, Milam has been listener-supported radio's Johnny Appleseed. A firm believer in community control, he has not retained ownership of any of the two dozen or so stations he has helped start, each of which has its own non-profit corporation and local board of directors.

Now a third generation of stations is appearing. Some of the newcomers serve communities like Telluride, Colo., that previously had no more sophisticated communications media than back-fence gossip. Others are in the deep South in places known for their conservatism.

In June 1975 the first national conference of non-profit stations was held in Madison, Wisc. Out of it grew the National Federation of Community Broadcasters, representing some 35 community-based stations. NFBC, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., helps new stations get started, acts as liaison to the federal bureaucracy, sponsors conferences and aids interstation cooperation.

Listener-supported radio is entering a stormy adolescence. With rapid growth has come moodiness, indecision and uncertainty about what to do next. Few stations have got through the past five years without a financial crisis, an internal power struggle, or both.

Pacifica is wracked with strife. KPFT has split off. Volunteers at WBAI took over the station last summer in a conflict over programming. KPFA has gone through three station managers in the

past year. KRAB lost its building last summer for non-payment of rent. KBOO is recovering from a power struggle between volunteers and an unpopular station manager. KCHU in Dallas recently went off the air because of financial troubles. Lorenzo Milam has gone into semi-retirement, having left a good part of his fortune (and heart) in various stations around the U.S.

Many of the crises can be traced to disagreements over funding. The scenario usually runs like this. Money gets tight. Someone suggests that the station could attract more funds by "appealing to a wider audience," which either means more classical music or more rock. Staff and volunteers with other interests argue that this is selling out, and conflict over control of programming often pits volunteers against staff. Since listener-supported radio exists to provide alternatives to commercial programming, these conflicts involve the very nature of the organization. The lack of advertising income precludes any easy answers.

On the whole, however, the outlook is hopeful. The appearance of small, rural and minority-managed stations are signs that listener-supported radio is reaching beyond its New Left origins. Dozens of new stations on the air, NFBC as a lobbying body and the impending move to viewer-sponsored TV (licenses pending) all argue that these maverick broadcasters will be around for a while.

—Michael Wells

Michael Wells has recently been elected to the board of directors of KBOO.

Listener-supported radio is entering a stormy adolescence. Few stations have got through the past five years without a financial crisis, an internal power struggle, or both.